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BULLY for Senator King! His three resolutions on Haiti and Santo Domingo are a breath of fresh air to all who are weary of mere lip-service to Americanism and desire some material evidence that our legislators will really uphold fundamental American principles. The resolution demanding our withdrawal from those two republics was discussed in a recent issue of *The Nation*. A second resolution (S 234) asks the Navy Department to furnish data on the cost to the United States of the two naval occupations. This information will interest our tax-payers. Most vital, however, for the moment, is his resolution (S 233) against the pending loan to Haiti. While the Haitian question is *sub judice* in Congress and beginning greatly to interest the American people, the Occupation is negotiating with three banking-houses for a \$14,000,000 loan which would compel continued American control of Haiti until 1962! Dr. Hudicourt, Haiti's envoy to the Second Hague conference, testified before the Senate Committee last week that the Haitian people would repudiate that loan if they were given five minutes of liberty. That the rights and aspirations of Dominicans and Haitians, if the McCormick-Pomerene commission has its way, will continue to be as flagrantly disregarded as in the last six years may be judged from the appointment of Brigadier General John H. Russell as American High Commissioner in Haiti. Not only is a military man to be the dictator of this formerly free people, but this dictator is the very man whose name in Haiti is synonymous with oppression and tyranny. Under him Haiti was taught what Jim Crow means. Even the churches

have provided separate masses for whites. General Russell is detested throughout Haiti. Perhaps it is just as well. There can be no solution of the Haitian and Dominican questions short of withdrawal of our military forces and restoration to both peoples of the independence and sovereignty which is their right.

WHAT does Eamon de Valera want? It is perfectly clear that he has an excellent opportunity to win a political victory over Michael Collins and his colleagues by making them seem dependent on British force or lukewarm to the wrongs of Irish nationalists in Ulster. He and his followers can foment or exploit Irish raids across the Ulster border; they can league themselves with communists who want a workers' republic (for which Mr. de Valera has never stood); they may perhaps use their connections with America to obtain American funds to defeat a treaty adopted in democratic fashion by the Dail. But if they do all this they endanger Ireland's progress. The great political need of Ireland is unity with Ulster; her economic need is an orderly development of her resources in which workers and farmers may be allies—not foes. Northeast Ulster can never be won by civil war or by vengeance but only by conciliation, and there is no magic in a republic which will make any economic problem easier to solve than under the Free State. Hence to exploit the Ulster question or the workers' grievances in a political fight against the treaty is to play with fire. It may be that Mr. de Valera has done none of these things but he ought to make his position clear. His efforts to get personal control of funds raised in America smack more of the methods of a defeated leader of a South American junta than of a democratic statesman appealing to the country after a defeat in parliament. His irreconcilable republicanism sits curiously on the man who authorized negotiations with England and proposed the alternative treaty. And in his bitter fight he has made not one possible suggestion for dealing with Ulster or with the economic problem which the railroad strike dramatically emphasized.

IMPERIALISM of the Anglo-American brand always requires a protective moralization of its position at no matter what cost to reason or to truth. Hence we find the British Government in India solemnly declaring that Gandhi has at last forced it to put into effect a policy of repression which in fact was one of the causes of Gandhi's protest; "Observer" in the London *Chronicle* calls the remarkable cooperation which Gandhi has developed between Moslem and Hindu an "unholy alliance" that cannot endure, and even the liberal London *Nation* declares that "friends of Indian self-government could not resist" Gandhi's deportation if the authorities should decide on such a course. But while the Government is paving the way for Gandhi's arrest and liberals are blaming him for the violence he does his best to restrain—"non-violent himself, he is surrounded by men who intend violence and resort to it" is the way the London *Nation* puts it—that remarkable leader has sus-

pended his program of mass disobedience because violence in one district has shown that the people are not ready for it. Such is the leader and such is the movement that British liberals find dangerous to the "civilization" which the British maintain by the sword.

HERBERT HOOVER and the New York *Times* have opened fire on the more radical Russian relief organizations in this country. They do not openly charge them with corruption, or inefficiency, or diversion of funds. They protest because some of these organizations, instead of sending their money and supplies through Mr. Hoover, send them to the Russian Red Cross or through the Russian Government. There is not even a charge that the Russians are dishonest or inefficient; indeed Mr. Hoover's own representatives have borne generous testimony to the effectiveness of Soviet Government relief. But, says Mr. Hoover, "aid by Americans should be distributed by well-known American organizations in Russia as a matter of national pride, if for no other reason." The *Times* echoes his words; yet a few years since its columns resounded with all manner of appeals to help Allied charities, Belgian, French, British, or even Czarist Russian! With thousands starving to death, such national pride comes strangely close to murderous interference with the task of succor. Not national pride, but generous encouragement to every group that can get a dollar's worth of food to Russia through any channel, is the need of the hour.

MR. HOOVER'S attack is direct and straightforward enough. From the beginning he has sought to concentrate control of all relief in his own hands and has deprecated the activities of independent organizations. But the *Times* is more under-handed. It concentrated its attack upon the American Committee for Russian Famine Relief of Chicago, which it attempted to destroy. This committee had formed a national advisory council of senators, governors, and other publicists. To all the members of this council the *Times* sent the following telegram:

Your name appears on the advisory council of the American Federated Russian Famine Relief Committee which it is said is being used by sympathizers with bolshevism to collect money to form an organization in this country. Kindly wire us collect in 100 words under what circumstances you lent your name to it and what action you will take in the matter. New York *Times*. This telegram not only confused the Chicago committee with a more radical New York committee bearing another name; it made a charge against the committee which the *Times* itself did not dare publicly print. The *Times* printed the replies but not its own telegram, nor did it make in print the charge the telegram contained. The charge is false. We have every reason to believe the radical relief organizations which distribute through the Russian Government or the Russian Red Cross honest and effective and we know of no government that carries on relief in a finer spirit than does the Russian. Some of these groups naturally appeal to the American working-class to give sympathetic support to a working-class government whose people are stricken by famine. Such attacks ought to goad the workers into even more vigorous aid.

POLAND has been making a strenuous effort to reduce her expenditures to within sighting distance of her income. In January, 1921, she received income to cover only 13 per cent of what she spent, 87 per cent being covered by

loans and by issue of paper money. In October she got the income up to 26 per cent. But a nation that pays three-quarters of its expenses by printing banknotes is not yet precisely healthy. Poland owes foreign countries the equivalent of 800 million Polish marks. These loans might safely be written off as gifts by the nations making them, chief among which is of course America. The Poles themselves have been wiser about lending their government money—only about 27 million Polish marks have been floated in the home market. Despite this sheer bankruptcy Poland maintains a huge standing army exceeded in size only by the Russian and French. Meanwhile Soviet Russia has made up its budget for the first nine months of 1922. Oddly enough, this berated bad boy of Europe makes a better showing, at least on paper, than the spoiled-child nation to the west. Estimating a total expenditure of 1,403 million gold rubles (the present official exchange rate is 175,000 soviet to 1 gold ruble) the Russian budget counts on 110 million rubles in receipts from the food tax, 883 million from the fuel, timber, transport, and other state industries, 110 million from other taxes, and only 230 million, or 16 per cent of the total, by issue of paper money. As a commercial proposition loans to Russia actually look better than loans to Poland. Some folks seem to have guessed wrong.

LABOR has taken the blows rained upon it in the last two years without effective resistance. It has been defeated in part by reason of the general industrial depression and in part because it has lacked a constructive program and proper organization. There are signs that these defects may be remedied. When the Administration discharged out of hand the thousands of ship-yard workers who fortunately are no longer needed to build battleships, Mr. William Johnston of the machinists' union wrote the President, not merely denouncing the Government for adding recruits to the miserable ranks of the unemployed, but making practical suggestions for employing the men—among others, by permitting the navy yards to work for the Emergency Fleet Corporation and the Army Transport and Lighthouse Services. Coal miners and railroad men furnish an even more important illustration of this new attitude. They have employed experts to study the industries in which they are engaged. Now they are seriously considering federation. The conference of leaders of the mine workers and the railroad unions in Chicago on February 21 may be a milestone in the history of American labor. An alliance between such great industries would require more effective thought from the Government than Attorney General Daugherty's threat to use his department to support the miscalled "open shop."

BY eliminating superfluous middlemen and practicing scientific methods farmers' cooperatives ought to give the producers a fair return for their labor without increasing prices to consumers. That, we think, will be the effect of organization under the newly enacted Cooperative Marketing Law which legalizes farmers' cooperative associations and exempts them from the Sherman Anti-Trust Act. The danger that a cooperative association might establish a burdensome monopoly in some agricultural product is much less than that some reactionary court might have used the Sherman Law to prohibit effective cooperation, but unfortunately it is not wholly imaginary—especially if foreign competition is barred out by high tariff. The operation of

the Sherman Act has left little enough ground for any confidence in anti-trust legislation; it would have been better if it had been modified or repealed for all producers and not for farmers only. The questionable feature of this valuable Cooperative Marketing Law is that it exempts cooperative associations from supervision by the Federal Trade Commission and places them instead under the supervision of the Secretary of Agriculture who, by the very nature of his office, is not an impartial judge but a servant of the farmers. "Can you imagine a greater disaster to agriculture," Senator Borah asked Senator Norris, "than to give a man [the Secretary of Agriculture] the power to fix the prices of farm products?" "It is a fact," Senator Norris replied, "that the proposition goes in that direction. However, I do not think it will ever be used in the way the Senator suggests." We hope that Senator Norris is right.

THE situation of the West Virginia coal miners grows more desperate. In the union fields unemployment and consequent hunger are breaking the morale of organized labor. It is estimated that 70,000 of a total of 115,000 men in the mining industry of the State are out of work and that 35,000 families are in want of food. Because of the widespread and critical distress employers are seeking to reopen mines—when they reopen them at all—on a non-union basis, so as to hold the whip handle when the contract with the United Mine Workers expires on April 1. So far as the non-union counties are concerned, the investigation of the Senate Committee on Education and Labor has burst like a toy balloon. Senators Phipps, Sterling, and Warren seem primarily to desire that union miners incorporate so as to be legally responsible for their contracts. The suggestion would be opposed by organized labor and in any event it is hard to see how such action could have any effect where unionism is recognized only to the extent that its adherents are run out of the region at the point of a gun. Senator Kenyon's suggestion for a Federal tribunal to serve as a voluntary court of arbitration for the mining industry, after the manner of the Railroad Labor Board, is worth more attention; but Senator Kenyon's resignation will probably put an end to his recommendations.

CONGRESS is not only proposing to give more than three billion dollars to ex-soldiers of the World War (a grant which it previously recognized as unwarranted and is now undertaking purely as a vote-catching device for elections next autumn) but it is putting forward some vastly unwise suggestions for the \$350,000,000 extra taxes that the bonus program is expected to require in its first year and, in view of the storm of protest against its taxation scheme, it is even driven to suggest a bond issue. Among the worst of the new taxes proposed is that to raise \$20,000,000 by increasing parcel-post rates. The parcel post has been of especial advantage to the farmer, who uses it not only for shipping much of his produce but also in purchasing merchandise from mail-order houses. Now in this moment of his bitterest need it is proposed to increase his transportation costs—just after several hundred pious words at the Farmers' Conference in Washington about helping the producers of our food! Owing to successful opposition by the express companies, the United States was behind all the rest of the civilized world in establishing a parcel post. Is it now to be disrupted by in-

creased rates so that Congressmen who ought not to have been elected for one term shall be returned for another?

AT last Senator Lodge has introduced a resolution "to save Austria from collapse" by extending for twenty-five years the payment of Austria's debt to the United States Grain Corporation. This action will release the lien on Austrian revenues now held by our own and other governments so that these revenues may serve as the basis for new credits without which Austria cannot so much as buy food to save her people from starving. Senator Lodge's bill provides that the extension will not be effective unless all nations to which she is similarly indebted take like action. But, as we pointed out in our issue of January 25, virtually all nations but the United States have long since agreed to this extension and our action backed by our influence will bring the few stragglers into line.

FOR New Yorkers the worst of the public-school situation is that no powerful faction in or out of the school system has shown an intelligent and disinterested devotion to educational progress. Governor Miller justly rebukes the city administration for "the slimy trail of politics" in the schools, but he signed the Lusk bills, which are a worse blow at education than anything done by Hylan and his henchmen. Trouble in the school system is chronic. Before the advent of Mayor Hylan a member of the old Board of Education once said: "I have had experience in city politics but until I joined this Board I did not know what politics—party, religious, and personal—could mean." The present row began when the Board of Education chose as associate superintendent Mrs. Grace Strachan Forsythe, whose sole qualifications as an educator seem to be that she is a consummate politician, an ardent Catholic, and a vociferous hundred percenter. It was confidentially asserted that the Board would not reelect Associate Superintendents Meleney and McAndrew, who had incurred the wrath of the Mayor. Ultimately they were reelected, though presumably they were saved only by publicity on the plans to oust them. The one ray of hope in this squabble was the reported refusal of all the district superintendents to accept promotion won in such a cheap political attack on their superiors. Teachers have less voice in the educational system than tailors in controlling the clothing trade. The fault is in part their own; if they will assert the dignity of their profession then partisan, sectarian, and personal politics, not only in New York but in other cities, may play a less disastrous role in the miseducation of our children.

THAT was a pretty gesture with which, last week, Mme. Curie was elected a member of the French Academy of Medicine; the five other nominees all withdrew when they heard that her name was on the list. More important than the pretty gesture of her rivals, however, is the just and rational performance of the members of the Academy who elected her. They chose her because of her eminence in science—which no one questions—in spite of the fact that she is a woman, though why the fact of her sex should enter into the matter at all we are simply unable to see. Perhaps an explanation might be forthcoming from the American Academy of Arts and Letters, which, with a dozen of its members obviously inferior in intelligence and achievement to, say, Edith Wharton, does not dare elevate a woman to its crystal heights.

M. Poincaré's Right and Left Hands

M. POINCARE has done what *The Nation* expected of him. He has sabotaged the Genoa Conference. One by one he takes up the questions that were to have been discussed there, and says, in the manner of a spoiled only child, that he will not discuss them. He won't play. He just refuses to discuss any contentious matter unless all the other nations accept his point of view beforehand.

Russia? Let Russia first unequivocally recognize private property and the Czar's debts, give "guaranties" that her word is good, and agree not to present counter-claims for the damage done by French invasions of Russia—then and then only will he meet the Russians. If there were nothing left to discuss he would discuss—short of that, No!

Germany? For nearly three years Europe has been sweating blood in the effort to get away from the impossible reparations provisions of the Treaty of Versailles. One after another French prime ministers have been forced by economic forces more powerful than political speeches to compromise, to whittle down those revenge-born clauses. Europe's recovery has been halted by their dead-weight. Finally, just before M. Briand fell, a moratorium seemed in sight; the Treaty of Versailles was giving way at a dozen points, and its revision seemed imminent. Revision of that unfortunate treaty was generally assumed to be the purpose of the Genoa Conference. In measured diplomatic terms, the correct phraseology of which conceals their essential hypocrisy and cruelty, M. Poincaré declares that France will not send a representative to Genoa unless assured that no attempt will be made to revise any of the terms of any of the treaties of peace. Finally he suggests that the Conference be postponed three months.

Postponement is of course inevitable. For a conference which meets without France and without the United States, or a conference which meets after agreement not to discuss any of the questions which most concern the future of Europe, is just one more conference and nothing more. The Genoa idea had significance because it was proposed that German and Russian representatives should for the first time meet on equal terms with the representatives of the Allied states to discuss together the problem of their common salvation. Genoa with the Genoa idea deleted would not be worth the trouble.

But postponement need not be disastrous. In three months M. Poincaré may learn much or he may even fall from office; and in three months the position of America may have changed. Strong influence was brought to bear to persuade the Harding Cabinet to participate at Genoa, and if American business conditions remain stagnant, as seems quite likely, the country will be far readier to participate at Genoa three months hence than it is today. The Washington treaties will probably be out of the road by that time, and the Government will feel readier for new responsibilities.

Nor will the reparations question remain stationary. The Cannes Conference did not disperse without taking any action. The reparations payments, arbitrarily fixed last May on a schedule providing for a total payment far less than that implied in the Treaty of Versailles, have again been upset. This is a matter which, in the hurly-burly occasioned by M. Briand's retirement and M. Poincaré's advent, has gone almost unnoticed. But M. Poincaré has said that he

feels bound by his predecessor's engagements at Cannes, and those engagements are of the first importance. We take from the London *Economist* the following summary:

According to the decisions arrived at on May 5 last, Germany should have handed over to the Reparation Commission on January 15 the sum of 500 millions marks gold, less the value of the payments in kind, and on February 15 a second sum, in respect of the current quarter's yield of the 26 per cent tax on German exports, the amount of which was provisionally fixed at 275 millions marks gold. After deducting the payments that have been made in kind, these two payments were fixed respectively at 400 millions marks gold and 240 millions marks gold. On December 14, however, the German Government notified the Reparation Commission that it would be unable to hand over more than between 150 and 200 millions marks gold in satisfaction of both payments called for, and it intimated further that similar difficulties would be found in connection with the subsequent payments during 1922.

The question was considered during the negotiations in Paris and in London and finally during the sitting of the Supreme Council at Cannes a decision was arrived at. On January 13 the Supreme Council notified the German delegates through Dr. Rathenau that a "temporary delay," the duration of which was not fixed, would be granted to Germany in regard to the January and February payments. It was stipulated, however, that during this temporary delay the German Government must hand over to the Reparation Commission every ten days the sum of 31 millions marks gold, the first of these payments becoming due on January 18. The German Government was further informed that it must within 15 days submit to the Reparation Commission proposals for the reform of its budget and its note circulation, together with a statement setting forth the program of payments it proposes to make during the coming year.

Germany's payments during January and February have thus already been reduced, M. Poincaré assenting, from 640 to 155 millions marks gold. Her payments for the entire year remain to be determined. Germany has made the ten-day payments prescribed at Cannes punctually; she has presented the proposals requested; and the Allied action upon those proposals is pending. Regarding them M. Poincaré has three courses open to him; he can discuss them by the intolerably long method of diplomatic notes, he can revert to the method of inter-Allied council which he has so contemptuously rejected, or he can leave the matter in the hands of the Reparation Commission. The last would seem, on the basis of M. Poincaré's past pronouncements, the most logical course for him to pursue; but it must lead very far from that rigid observance of treaty terms on which also he insists. For the Reparation Commission consists of financial experts, whose task is not so much to make political pronouncements that "Germany can and must pay" as to figure out possible schedules upon which Germany can work—which means, in the disastrous present, very small payments indeed. The prospect is that while M. Poincaré is sabotaging Genoa and proclaiming to the politicians that he will consent to no revision of the treaty, he will find a way to have the treaty revised despite himself.

The outlook for an early, open, frank discussion of the changing needs of Europe seems dim. But behind the façade the same forces are still at work. M. Poincaré will be forced to do what M. Briand was forced to do. Sooner or later there will be such a Genoa Conference as Mr. Lloyd George proposed. When it comes we hope the United States will be ready to play a wise and active part in it.

A Reply to Governor Allen and Others

IN *The Nation* of December 28 was an editorial entitled *Damaged Panaceas*. The panaceas in question were the Kansas Industrial Court and company unions such as exist in the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company and in the packing-houses. The ineffectiveness of these panaceas, we asserted, was proved by the series of strikes which existed in spite of them. Our editorial drew several letters of criticism; from these we have selected parts of the three most important:

SIR: . . . Borrowing your own phrase, "the proof of the pudding is in the eating," we point to these unanswerable facts as demonstrating the attitude of our employees: (1) Representatives of the employees, after due deliberation, concurred unanimously in a wage reduction resolution adopted by our General Conference Board. (2) Union officials called a strike based on the assumption that the employee representatives had not observed the wishes of the employees. (3) The Conference Board countered with a proclamation counseling the men to remain at their work. (4) More than 90 per cent of our workers reported for duty as usual on the first morning of the strike . . . and at this writing there are not to exceed 300 of our men in Chicago actually on strike. . . .

Chicago, December 31, 1921 R. D. MACMANUS,
Publicity Bureau, Armour and Co.

SIR: . . . The following statement occurs in your editorial: "Only the other day the newspapers reported Governor Allen as telling a Brooklyn audience that his pet court had served the public interest by preventing picketing in the strike in Kansas stockyards. At the time he spoke the Wolff Packing Company of Topeka was openly defying an order of his court in favor of the workers, while in Kansas City and Wichita thousands of workers not only were out on strike, but were peacefully picketing the yards."

There are two glaring misstatements in the above paragraph.

First, the Wolff Packing Company never openly defied the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Act, but simply took what amounts to an appeal from the order of that court to the Supreme Court, which appeal is still pending. Union operatives of the Wolff Packing Company brought a petition into the court containing several counts, one of which related to the fact that men and women were working at the same task in one of the departments with the same efficiency, but that the men were receiving greater wages than the women. They asked that the court wipe out this differential. This the court did and the Wolff Packing Company offered no objection to this very sensible and just adjudication of that matter.

These operatives also protested against the proposed reduction in wages. The Court of Industrial Relations went carefully into the subject of living costs at that time and made an award adjusting the wage, the minimum allowed being just about that allowed by Judge Alschuler a little later. The operatives accepted the award of the court as being satisfactory but the packers appealed to the Supreme Court of the State as is provided by the law. . . . The packers set up two principal contentions: (1) That the industrial court had no right to establish a minimum wage or a basic day; (2) that the minimum wage established was burdensome and confiscatory. The Supreme Court held that the industrial court had the right to establish a minimum wage and to fix a basic day, but appointed a commissioner to hear further facts upon the question as to whether or not the order of the industrial court as to the payment of wages therein set forth was confiscatory under the local facts and circumstances. . . .

The other part of the sentence, that "thousands of workers in Kansas City and Wichita were not only out on a strike,

but peacefully picketing the yards" is also untrue. . . . I am inclosing, as proof of what I say, a resolution recently sent to the President of the United States by the mayor and council of Kansas City, Kansas. This was sent in company with the resolutions from Omaha, Chicago, Sioux City, and other packing centers, begging the President for Federal intervention. You will observe that the resolution from Kansas City points out to the President the fact that in Kansas City there has been no picketing and that the industries there are running without disorder, because of the effect upon the situation of the Kansas Court of Industrial Relations Act. It is regrettable that the employees did not appeal to the Court of Industrial Relations for an adjudication of their controversy. They refused this because their International officers forbade them to recognize the Kansas court. The packers themselves had no grievance. Therefore, there was no issue for the court to adjudicate. The only act remaining for the industrial court was that of securing adherence to the provisions of the law which guarantees to every man who wants to work the right to do so.

I note you quote Mr. Clugston on the subject of the difficulty at Pittsburgh. It is fully as erroneous as the statements in reference to the packing industry. When Alexander Howat and his vice-president, Dorchy, went to jail rather than give the bonds fixed by the court, their followers, in keeping with their custom when the mine officials are sought to be made amenable to the State courts, simply quit work. No strike was called, as is shown by the testimony of "Jock" Flemming, acting president of the Howat regime, in the testimony in the injunction case in Kansas City, Mo. The sentence that Howat and Dorchy are serving is one pronounced by the district court of Cherokee County after a trial by jury for the violation of the criminal provisions of the industrial court law, and with which the industrial court proper had nothing whatever to do. The situation has never been anything else in that district since these men went to jail than violations of the peace of the community.

The State issued a statement that any man who wished to work in the mines would be given protection. The next day 200 men went to work, but the thousands who remained out did not picket those who returned. Every day thereafter the crowd of those who went to work increased until at the present time the pay roll is more than two-thirds of normal. Three weeks ago some 2,000 women living in the most radical portion of the mining field organized and made an attack upon the mines that were working. It was necessary to send a small body of troops—about 300 cavalymen—to protect the homes of the miners who were at work and to prevent the women from holding any more meetings. Since that time there have been no disturbances. The mines are producing an ample supply of fuel. It is probably the first instance in the history of organized labor where union miners have asked the government to send troops to protect their homes while they worked. No one has been hurt and the number of miners at work increase daily.

The sweeping statement that the Kansas law is unworkable does not agree with the plain fact—which is that in the year and eight months there have been over thirty important decisions in matters affecting wages and working conditions, and of these decisions only one has been appealed to the higher courts. . . .

H. J. ALLEN, Governor of Kansas
Topeka, Kansas, January 7, 1922

SIR: [After explaining how workmen had initiated and agreed to wage cuts in certain mills and mines, Mr. Cowdrick recounts developments leading up to the strike.] . . . This strike was at first effective to a greater or less degree in the mines in Huerfano County and to a much smaller degree in

Las Animas County. In fact, there was little interruption of work in the Las Animas County mines, even from the start, and within a few days the mines in Huerfano County, which had been affected by the wage reduction, were operating with sufficient working forces for all our needs. From the very beginning of the strike we have secured all the coal we needed for every purpose and during the past two or three weeks it has been necessary to operate the mines only part time, because we have not had markets for the entire output.

I stated above that the strike was made effective, not only at the mines where the wage reduction had been put into effect, but at all the other mines of the company. The strike was in fact much more effective at the mines where no reduction had been made than at the other properties. However, at three of these mines, which had been closed following the sympathetic strike, the workmen have since petitioned the company to resume work on the reduced wage scale. At these mines the work has been resumed on that basis. . . .

Denver, Col., December 28, 1921 E. S. COWDRICK,
Assistant to Vice-President,
Colorado Fuel and Iron Company

It will be seen that Mr. MacManus and Governor Allen raise certain definite issues of fact. (1) How effective was the strike of the packing-house employees? Our original statement, taken from union reports and newspaper dispatches, was that "90 per cent of the stockyard workers in America walked out." We did not say they walked out the first day, nor that they stayed out. From several sources we have tried to check up this figure, and we believe that on the second and third day of the strike the 90 per cent figure was not far wrong. But whether or not that figure was too high the fact remains that the strike was serious enough to disturb the packing industry in all its principal centers, and in many of them to call forth drastic action by officers of the law. Admittedly the packing-house workers were imperfectly organized; their leadership left much to be desired; the tremendous amount of unemployment made a strike at that time almost hopeless; yet in spite of these adverse conditions the strike continued with a considerable degree of effectiveness until the end of January. The packers' representatives assert that such success as the strike had in its early days was due to intimidation. That there was intimidation in the packing-house jungles we do not doubt, and we are quite certain that it was used by both sides. We can match every assertion of the packers that their faithful employees were intimidated by assertions from the workers that the company unions owed whatever life they had only to the pressure of necessity and that the employees' representatives who sanctioned wage reductions did so because they feared for their jobs. To sift these facts carefully would require a judicial commission, but it requires no judicial commission to assert that so extensive a strike as that in the packing industry was the natural result of wage cuts made by employers who rejected a successful plan for arbitration and refused to consult with the men's own organization. It takes more than intimidation to hold strikers together in the face of the financial power of employers and the organized police forces.

(2) What are the facts about Kansas? Both Mr. Saposs of the Labor Bureau and Mr. Clugston of the Kansas City Post, on whose authority we asserted that the Wolff Packing Company had defied the court, agree that they were mistaken and accept Governor Allen's statement of fact. But on the Governor's own showing his law has not provided laborers of the Wolff Company with a more effective weapon than a strike. On the contrary, from January, 1921, until

the present time the case of the employees of the Wolff Company has been tied up by legal proceedings in which the employers have the advantage. Already the Commissioner has reported to the Supreme Court adversely to them. Should the court sustain him labor's victory before the lower court will have been fruitless.

Letters from our correspondents and a mass of newspaper clippings make it impossible to accept the Governor's picture of the situation in the Kansas stockyards as quite adequate. Mayor Harry B. Burton of Kansas City, Kansas, writes to a fellow-townsmen under date of January 14, 1922: "It has been the privilege of the writer to address several meetings of strikers. I estimate the crowds to range in number from 2,000 to 3,000." He then refers to his success in breaking up strike crowds outside the packing-house gates and continues: "There have been times when several hundred people have gathered and caused disturbances. . . . Our police force still remains on the twelve-hour regulation. . . . I regret to inform you that because of the anti-mob law, which reads 'that where a person receives bodily injury at the hands of three or more persons the city is liable to damages' . . . we have had approximately one million dollars in damage suits filed against the city since the strike began. I do not feel that this will reflect to the credit of labor."

Over and above these specific questions, the fundamental question of utility of the Kansas Industrial Court remains and on that issue we think the evidence is conclusive. Governor Allen's plan may have settled thirty cases of minor importance. It has provoked trouble in the one great industrial area—the coal fields—for whose benefit it was passed. The Topeka State Journal on November 9 quoted Ira Clements, president of the Southwestern Interstate Coal Miners' Association, to the effect that 228 strikes had occurred in the Pittsburgh district during the first six months of 1921, an average of 38 strikes a month. This was under the operation of Governor Allen's law. The Governor, in proposing the law, had claimed that 364 strikes had occurred in the Pittsburgh field during 33 months from April, 1916, to January 31, 1918. This was an average of 11 strikes a month, or less than a third as many as under his law. Still more significant are the reasons assigned for Howat's action in calling off the coal strike on January 12. Howat said that it was because he had already demonstrated that the industrial court law was a failure. President Lewis of the United Mine Workers, who also thinks the law a failure, believes it was because he [Lewis] had previously ordered the men back to work. Governor Allen's comment was: "Howat's statement that the industrial court law has failed utterly in Kansas doesn't seem to have worked out in his case. Howat is still in jail." Surely the law was intended not to jail a particular leader but to prevent strikes or suspensions of work. In this case it caused them. Attorney General R. J. Hopkins declares: "The vagrancy ordinance being put into force in the coal-mining districts threw fear into the hearts of the miners." That is to say that with the Governor's panacea on the statute books it was necessary to secure local ordinances to jail men without jobs as vagrants!

The situation in Colorado is equally significant as to the failure both of company unions and of coercive State laws to accomplish their purpose. The strike in the mines of the Colorado Fuel and Iron Company faced almost certain failure because of unemployment, yet, on Mr. Cowdrick's

own showing, in the face of such odds the machinery of the Rockefeller plan did not prevent a strike! And so fearful were the State authorities that in one county affected by the mine strike they declared martial law, which was enforced by State troops until late in January. In Denver the attempt to enforce a State law which prohibits a strike for a thirty-day period while an industrial controversy is considered by a State Commission, resulted in great unrest. About twenty leaders of the national stockyard workers' strike were jailed for not first submitting their controversy to the State industrial commission. Later they were released under political pressure. The failure of the Colorado law is more important because a much worse bill along somewhat similar lines has been introduced in the New York legislature.

We share Governor Allen's desire to abolish the waste, confusion, and suffering of strikes. But experience is proving what ought to have needed no such painful proofs, that the organized workers will not on any large scale consent to work under threat of imprisonment at wages set by a court. Such labor is peonage no matter how disguised. George Bernard Shaw is certainly right in holding that the cornerstone of the new society must be the duty to work. He may be right in holding that compulsory labor will be enforced in a socialist state—though such a state will be in a bad way if it has to depend on machinery like the Kansas Court—but if so compulsion must apply universally and men who work under it must not be piling up profits for an owning class. Neither of these essential conditions is met in America. Any court must reflect the point of view of property-right rather than of labor-right under our existing economic framework. Even if its members are all honorable men they cannot be accepted as the masters of labor. The most that State boards can wisely do is to offer to mediate in labor disputes and to make public the facts underlying them. There is no principle of justice to be applied by such courts. As the *New York World* says: "There is no such principle because wages in modern industry are fixed by a very complicated process of bargaining between employers, capitalists, consumers, and employees." To forget this fact is to add fuel to the flames of industrial conflict.

Employee representation, which is the principle behind company unions, is, as we said in our former editorial, a different matter. Our objection is only to those schemes which oppose or ignore the national labor unions. In such great industries as packing and coal mining not only should schemes of employee representation be free from the obvious desire of the employers to defeat the unions, but they should make place for them in their plans. It is significant that the more enlightened employers are beginning to understand this fact. The New Jersey State Chamber of Commerce has adopted a report on Industrial Relations which is remarkable for its sound sense. It condemns the so-called Open-Shop plan and commends not only employee representation of the sort to be found in the Dutchess Bleachery and the Dennison Manufacturing Company, but also the principle of "constructive cooperation with labor organizations in an industry-wide scope" such as has been obtained in the clothing industry by the employers' agreement with the Amalgamated Clothing Workers. Even such cooperation is no panacea for economic ills but—unlike the subterfuges which we criticized in our editorial—it is a forward step in evolutionary progress.

The Bootlegger Triumphant

TO the bootleggers we take off our hats. Not only do they, like the operators of the Underground Railroad of yore, successfully defy the militant agents of State and Federal governments, but they have brought to despair one powerful bureau of the Treasury. We mean, of course, that wherein the income-tax officials supervise our financial destinies. In the face of a tremendous falling off in the incomes of the general public these officials are utterly unable to put their hands upon the most prosperous class in our whole nation, that for which no financial or business depression exists, whose members live in a boom for which only the blue sky is the limit, whose wives and children wallow in luxury, whose prosperity knows no staying. It was not the bootleggers who worried about the excess-profits tax. The greatest of excess-profiters since the war began, they cared not at all whether or not Secretary Mellon had his way as to the abolition of that tax, which, so he said, throttled business. Nothing throttles their business; nobody searches their books to discover concealed gains, for bootleggers keep no books and no records. Theirs are cash transactions and the only possible trace of their magnitude would be found in the forbidden examination of bank accounts—if bootleggers were ever so careless as to bank.

So Mr. Mellon is powerless. He knows that if he could only levy on the bootleggers' incomes he would have more than enough to pay the bonus the politicians and the American Legion demand and would not have to suggest additional stamp and tobacco taxes. Indeed, if he could realize all he ought to from bootleggers' incomes we could freely forgive all our Allies their debts, principal and interest, wipe the slate bare, and still have enough to begin to build a memorial boulevard from New York to Seattle. Lest anyone think we exaggerate let us give two specific cases vouched for to us by high government authority. There is the former bartender of a prosperous New York club. When prohibition deprived him of his job, he begged permission to hang around the club without pay—and cleared \$25,000 the first year of prohibition by his share in the pleasant duty of slyly supplying members with their favorite beverages. Then there is a Los Angeles saloon-keeper who prior to prohibition was able to keep wife and children respectable, but no more. In three years he has amassed such sums that he has retired from business to live the rest of his days as a country gentleman. And there is the neighbor's dressmaker. She and a few Italian friends imported a whole cargo of fine Italian wines, pooling altogether some \$150,000. The cargo passed the customs officers easily, was duly landed, but a slight carelessness in loading a portion of it upon motor trucks by daylight, together with the accidental and inexplicable passing just then of a prohibition agent, unfortunately deprived this poor woman of some 500 per cent upon her investment.

Now, much as one may sympathize with the Government for its powerlessness, there are compensations aside from the freely flowing spirits. For there is arising a new aristocracy of wealth and merit in America. As the rest of us grow poorer in buying wet goods at from four to ten times their former worth, the tax-exempt tribe of bootleggers waxes fabulously rich, so that our colleges and our charities will soon have new sources and new friends to draw upon as our *ancienne noblesse* fades into genteel poverty.

The High Cost of Justice

By EUGENE LYONS

I CAN devise no more dramatic opening for this article than a temperate listing of a few cases of national prominence and the prices paid for them. In all instances, unavoidably, the figures are approximate, but close enough to be serviceable for whatever moral the reader may care to deduce.

The murder trial of Joseph Ettor, Arturo Giovannitti, and Joseph Caruso, growing out of the big Lawrence strike in 1912, cost \$100,000. The labor leaders were acquitted after a hard-fought legal battle.

The Mooney case, during the five years of its long-drawn life, cost \$400,000. All the defendants are still alive, but two are in prison.

The Everett, Washington, trial, following the shooting affray between a boatful of I. W. W.'s and the "defenders of the city" on the dock, part of the bitter war on labor by the lumber interests of the Northwest, cost \$37,000. An acquittal was secured in the first case, and the charges against the sixty-six other defendants were dropped.

The Chicago case against the Industrial Workers of the World (William D. Haywood, et al.), which gave the genial Justice Landis a setting for his impressive delivery of sentences ranging from one to twenty years, cost \$225,000.

Another Northwest case, that of Centralia, Washington, cost \$60,000.

The Sacco-Vanzetti case, still pending, has cost \$60,000 to date.

Six cases, all within a decade, totaling almost a million dollars! This money came almost exclusively from the lean pockets of lean toilers. Every now and then the magnanimity of some wealthy lady creates a sensation in some defense committee, but the total of such generosity rarely pays the witness fees. In the Sacco-Vanzetti fight, which now holds the center of the stage, a \$2,500 donation by an estimable lady of means stands out as the supreme instance of sacrifice for the cause. Yet an inspection of the books reveals the significant fact that locals of the Amalgamated Clothing Workers of America have given, in small and scattered instalments, a total of about \$5,000, and the locals of the United Mine Workers of America, despite their own troubles in Kansas and West Virginia, twice that amount.

Dimes, quarters, and single dollars are the brick and mortar that went to build those powerful sums I have quoted above. The \$500 and \$1,000 donations are barely enough for trimmings. When a crevice is to be filled, the faithful subscription blank makes its sooty pilgrimage. It comes back weary, wrinkled, grease-stained with thick fingerprints, carrying its little hoard. A self-conscious guide of this pilgrim sometimes scribbles on it, "Excuse condition." When it is slow in returning, or its harvest too meager, one of the humble mortgages his home (as happened during the Sacco-Vanzetti trial), knowing that his chances of reimbursement are on a par with "socialism in our day" and such things. "The inclosed," a woman in one of the Massachusetts towns says in a note accompanying her two dollars, "I saved by walking to work for two weeks. Please take it to help in your work to save the innocent workers from the electric chair."

One of the most interesting documents I have ever seen

in this connection is the financial statement of the Ford and Suhr case. The number of 10- and 25-cent contributions with which the Wheatland Hop Pickers Defense Committee fought the case is astounding. Very few of the donations ran above five dollars. Nobody is indignant about this case any longer. Probably Ford and Suhr themselves have exhausted their indignation. But it was a brave fight against tremendous odds, with Mr. Austin Lewis working approximately twenty-four hours a day for seven days a week, and getting little more than his expenses in return. Not much cash but lots of excitement, to judge from this in a recent letter of his:

The Ford and Suhr case bristled with stories and horrors, detective persecutions including beatings, suicide due to ill-treatment, kidnappings, and wholesale and unjustifiable arrests. It was a regular dime novel, a riot of violence and brutality. But I could not write out the stuff under about sixty thousand words, and life is very short and the instant prosecution of the criminal syndicalist law very annoying not to say absorbing.

Why do labor cases run so high?

Before answering this question it is well to point out that as compared with other famous criminal cases—the Thaw case, the Swope-Hyde case, the Rosenthal murder case—labor trials are not so high after all. Certainly there are divorce proceedings and other "civil" suits quietly prosecuted before "masters" which would make the Mooney expense account seem like a pigmy. In the same State where the two Italians have been tried, I am informed of a suit—tried before a master to shield the name of the gentleman involved—in which the defendant employed a total of sixty investigators during a period of six months, with as many as thirty working at one time, all drawing from \$25 a day up. One of the sixty is my source of information.

The outstanding consideration in every labor case is the enormous overhead in raising the funds. Critics of the various defense committees constantly commit themselves to some such fallacy as: "Why don't you limit yourselves to defense, instead of spending big sums on propaganda and agitation?" They forget that but for the agitation there would be no funds for the legal fight. It is safe to estimate that no less than one-third of the money collected goes into "publicity" and "organization," two items without which the other two-thirds could not have been obtained. The terms are used broadly, and there is no telling where one ends and the other begins. Sometimes, in fact, it is difficult to distinguish between certain forms of legal work and what is denominated as "agitation." Publicity covers such expenses as printing, mass meetings, express charges, postage, advertising, the living expenses of writers who devote themselves exclusively to a case. Organization includes field representatives, office expenditures, conferences.

In prosecutions which stretch for several years, like the Mooney case, the proportion of overhead is much larger. Legal recourse is exhausted after a while and the strongest chance for action lies in the appeal to public opinion, the hardest court to reach of them all. In the fifth year of the Mooney defense, with the work of the lawyers almost at an end, the expenditures are practically all for publicity and organization. Exact figures are available for the initial two

and a half years of the Mooney case. They indicate (according to the official statements of the International Workers' Defense League) an expenditure of \$46,673 for publicity and \$55,749 for organization, as against \$86,416 for legal expenses, including investigation—an overhead of more than 54 per cent. Whatever else may be said about the Mooney defense finances, they have at least this in their favor, that Tom Mooney and Warren K. Billings are still alive, even if incarcerated. The same thing is not true of many another innocent worker who has died the death of a felon because no one took the trouble to build up a defense and a defense fund.

As an instance of how expenses roll up into thousands of dollars, we need only think back to the Mooney Congress in January of 1919, held in Chicago. A vote on the general strike was decided upon. Four million general strike ballots were sent to the unions of the country. Thirty thousand packages of ballots were sent and thirty thousand first-class letters, with war-time postage rates still in force. All of this was mailed during a period of three weeks, so that at least twenty people were on the salary list while the work was in progress.

The various financial statements of the defense committees give no indication of the amount of money spent locally in hundreds of cities for printing, mass meetings, parades, and conferences. There were Ettor-Giovannitti committees in a score of cities, besides the central one in Massachusetts. There were Mooney defense groups carrying on the propaganda and paying the price in hundreds of places. There are Sacco-Vanzetti committees under one name or another in New York, Philadelphia, Cleveland, Chicago, San Francisco, and other centers. If there were some method of checking up on the aggregate tax upon the working-class made necessary by prosecutions of their spokesmen, it would perhaps double the figures generally quoted.

In the Sacco-Vanzetti case a recent compilation shows that sheer publicity—printing, meetings, etc.—cost about \$15,000 during 1921, almost twice the total of attorneys' fees already paid. Stenographers' service alone has already eaten up \$4,000 and is still voracious, its appetite stimulated by the appeals to higher courts.

Investigation! The word is such a tame one, reminiscent of political wash and social work. In a murder trial it is something vastly more. In getting some of the "insides" of the work, I realized the chief advantage of the Sherlock Holmes method over modern realism. "Deducing" is cheap as compared with investigating.

"Here's a single page of report," Fred H. Moore of counsel for Nicola Sacco and Bartolomeo Vanzetti said, "just turned in by an investigator and of importance to the defense. All it contains, as you see, is a number of names and addresses. To get them an expert man had to travel to three widely separated towns and invest several days of work. Before he finds the information he is looking for he may have to put in weeks more. Now bear in mind that in the recent trial in Dedham from 150 to 160 witnesses took the stand. They were secured by a process of elimination. In other words, it means that three or four times as many had to be investigated, statements taken from scores of them, and those in turn checked up to determine their veracity and bearing. Witnesses came from Maine, Virginia, and other States."

That flimsy cases and "frame-ups" are more difficult and expensive to parry than others becomes apparent upon re-

flection. Where the circumstances alleged are real, they are more likely to be logically coordinated; a single fact may serve as the key to the whole situation, since it is not a detached fact, but an intrinsic portion of a logical structure. Where the allegation is non-existent, facts and quasi-facts swim around loose in the watery substance of the charge; each has to be fished out and exposed separately. If one witness is mistaken, the others may be shown to be in a similar situation. But when one witness deliberately lies, he leaves his fellow-witnesses almost unaffected.

The dynamiting charge against Charles Krieger in Tulsa, Oklahoma, several years ago, is the frankest "frame-up" I know. Everybody in the State knew he had been "framed," and eventually he was acquitted. The trial was watched in the same spirit that a little further south they watch the bull fights. The victim is innocent, of course, but the sport is none the less stimulating. I remember how, whenever a point made by the defense had to be contradicted, the Standard Oil lawyers brought in a "witness." Sometimes they took him off the streets. Sometimes they imported him from Arizona or New Mexico. Undermining such witnesses is infinitely more difficult than honest ones.

An instance in point: a witness took the stand for the prosecution and testified that on a certain day he had seen Krieger and a notorious yeggman, Hall, on a train together in western Oklahoma. Krieger had no ready alibi. At that time he had been riding "blinds" and freights; he had slept in the I. W. W. "jungles," where there are no hotel registers. If he had been accused of having been in Alaska he would have been quite as unable to deny it. It became necessary to check up on the movements of Hall instead. The attorney and assistants hunted all through the States of Missouri and Oklahoma, on the theory that prison records and station-house blotters would be the best trail for following Hall. Finally, in a small town outside of Tulsa, a record was found of his having been in jail on the day in question. "Finding's easy work," a professional investigator (more popularly known as a detective) said the other night; "hunting's damned hard." It is a costly enough procedure finding an essential witness when he is not especially desirous of testifying, but *not* finding him is infinitely more so. Trails that lead nowhere must be traced by the sheen of gold.

The prosecution of a case is hardly less expensive than the defense, but it does not show. Every step in the Sacco-Vanzetti defense had to be paid for. The prosecution, on the other hand, had several trained police forces, secret-service organizations, and the whole machinery of the State at its beck and call. It is reported the Department of Justice even sent in a "stool-pigeon" to keep things merry. The prosecution had the cooperation of the Pinkerton Agency, the insurance companies, and any number of other expert bodies.

With justice retailing at such prices the least we may demand is that it be unadulterated.

Contributors to This Issue

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Mr. Hughes and the Far East

By NATHANIEL PEPPER

Washington, February 10

IN this concluding article on the Washington Conference I do not want to make any résumé of its accomplishments. That already has been adequately done. I shall indicate instead what it might have accomplished and how, and why it did not accomplish that. I shall not deal here with that phase of the Conference concerned with the limitation of naval armaments. That has been a splendid success, an achievement not to be minimized. I shall deal only with that phase concerned with the Far East. That has been a singular disappointment. I do not think it needs to be demonstrated that the Conference has done at best an infinite little to ease the strain that brought it about. The root conflicts that have produced recurrent strife in the Far East since the mid-nineteenth century and become intensified in the twentieth century are unappeased. These resolutions, these pronouncements, all these treaties—we have had them before. If there was so great a danger of war over China that it was deemed advisable to call an international assembly to eradicate its causes, then there is equally great danger of war now that the assembly has adjourned. The causes remain. True, the instruments of war have been decreased and new ones made less accessible; that is all.

Now, I am not of those who expected that three months of sessions of this Conference or any other would leave peace breathing over Asia. I did not expect any final and absolute solution of all Far Eastern questions. I did not expect that China would be left free of all foreign hindrances and started on a greased path of reconstruction; that Japan would be shorn at once of its recent spoils and made forever harmless. But I do believe that Japan could have been made to disgorge more than it has—provided other Powers did too—and that at least a beginning might have been made in the direction of a new regime in the Far East. There were limits to what this Conference could have done, but it has not even approached those limits.

First of all it was imperative that the American delegation know what it wanted to accomplish. Presumably it must have had certain objectives when it added Far Eastern problems to what was originally intended to be a Conference only on naval reduction. If it is satisfied now, if this is all that it expected to do, then there was no reason for anything more pretentious than a five-Power naval pourparler. Since the American Government did add Far Eastern problems to the scope of the Conference it must have had some reason for so doing. It must have had some program. If it did, then America not only suffered defeat but lost by default. And it forfeited, further, its right to protest in the future by reason of its acquiescence now. It never made that program known; certainly it never made a fight for it.

In the matter of naval limitation the American delegation did know what it wanted and got it, with one or two unessential modifications. And it got that because it did know. Mr. Hughes laid down a specific and detailed plan for naval reduction. The audacity of his tactics astounded the world and arrayed the world behind him. He put the burden of refusal on the delegates of the other Powers, and left them to face their own people if they did refuse. The way his

naval proposals were received by the world pointed clearly the method to follow with respect to Far Eastern problems also. He did not follow it.

As I see the Conference, it was doomed to sterility in its political phase before it had been two weeks in session. At the beginning of the second week two courses were open to Mr. Hughes. The first was to follow the pointing of his own great beginning in either of two ways. He could have arisen himself in plenary session, read out the agenda for Pacific and Far Eastern affairs, and then laid down specifically what that agenda called for in the American view; just as specifically as he did in his naval proposals. Or he could have taken advantage of what he himself had brought about, what seemed then so astute a piece of diplomacy. A few days after the opening of the Conference, it will be remembered, the Chinese presented their Ten Points, a new code for the conduct of foreign Powers in China as well as a start by which to proceed to redress China's wrongs. The Chinese did not take that step on their own initiative; we know that. They did it under official American inspiration. And, as I say, it seemed a supremely skilful bit of maneuvering. For one assumed that it would be immediately followed by another Chinese declaration.

To the Ten Points the various delegations all gave their assent, "in principle." It was then China's move. It was China's to say: "Very well, gentlemen, we have set forth our case in general and you have given accord. This, then, is what it means in particulars—so and so and so and so: Shantung, Manchuria, fixing of the date for the return of this territorial leasehold and that, the cancelation of this concession and that, the relinquishment of this economic monopoly and that." Thus there would have been laid before the Conference and before the world proposals for a Far Eastern settlement as concrete as those for naval limitation. They would have been laid down by China, which assuredly had a moral right to make demands; laid down by China but taken up and pressed by America, and pressed with a minimum of risk of breaking up the Conference, for since they were China's proposals, not America's, America would have receded on any of them if necessary without any of the loss of pride or prestige over which nations fight. Since the voice was China's though the hand was America's, the two together could have asked more than they expected to get, and after the customary diplomatic bargaining got as much as they expected.

That was one of the two courses open to Mr. Hughes. It was the more difficult and the more hazardous, to be sure. It required consummate delicacy or it would have led to open rupture. It was not necessary, however, that the other delegations accept all or even any of the demands presented by China and America. I believe myself that if they had been put on the defensive and submitted to effective pressure they would have conceded far more than they have. Certainly they would have, had we thrown our strength and our potential support in future international relations as an item in the bargain; that would have weighed heavily with the British. And if, also, we had held off in our adherence to the Four-Power Pact. As I wrote at the time, signing that pact when he did was one of Mr. Hughes's fatal blun-

ders. Had he joined that only at the end in return for the adherence of the other Powers to our view of a Far Eastern settlement, he could have exacted a price for it. As it was he signed himself away in advance gratis. He threw away one of his strongest bargaining points. It is true America wanted the Anglo-Japanese Alliance abrogated. But Great Britain wanted even less to continue it against American opposition. And it did not want to cut adrift from Japan in Asiatic transactions—and it has not; let that not be forgotten. Mr. Hughes could have refused to enter any pact under any circumstances, and made the British choose between Japan and America, and the British would have been hesitant to continue with the Alliance. Mr. Hughes had Great Britain in a hole. He lifted it out and put America in. And England, having got all that it really wanted out of the Conference—a means of exit from the Alliance which was not an exit and yet placated America—was then free to do what it pleased on all other subjects before the Conference. Which it did. If a balance were struck between the support England gave America after that and the support it gave Japan, the figures would be all in Japan's favor. Let that not be forgotten either.

But it would have been clear gain even if the Powers had rejected all of the Chinese-American demands. For there would have been a clarification of the issues once and for all. China's case would have been stated in full for the first time. We should have known exactly what the Far Eastern question is and where each country stands on it. We should have had a standard by which to measure every action of every Power in the Far East in the future. We should have had an advanced starting-point for the next conference on the Far East, whenever that should be.

That was not the course taken by Mr. Hughes. For reasons at which one can only guess he chose the other. I have never been able to find a rational explanation for what took place in the forty-eight hours after the American delegation suddenly advised the Chinese to present their Ten Points. The Chinese naturally expected their next step to be as I have said—presentation of concrete application of the Ten Points. But before they had time even to draft this the American delegation as suddenly sent over the startling advice not to do so. I presume either that Mr. Hughes lost courage—not desiring to risk a rift when all was going so beautifully otherwise—or else that he was called off by a voice within the Administration. It violates no confidence to say that there have been influences at work to let Japan off easily and not to disturb British vested interests in China—and also not to restrict future American opportunities to acquire vested interests. Such influences have been at work even inside the American delegation. Whether those were the decisive factors, or whether it was the desire of Mr. Harding for a nice, friendly Marion, Ohio, international party, or the desire of the Republican leaders for a grand success as contrasted with Mr. Wilson's Democratic failure at Versailles—which of these it was I do not know. Maybe it was a combination of all three. For myself I have throughout held the belief that Mr. Hughes's "punch was pulled." I have watched him closely enough and I have sufficient admiration for his intellect and his character and I am sufficiently certain of his grasp on the facts of the Far East to believe that he himself is undeceived and that he knows better than to be satisfied with what he has got out of the Conference and that, on his own impulses, he would have taken a more vigorous line.

At any rate, Mr. Hughes voluntarily refrained from pur-

suing his own demonstrated successful tactics and he restrained the Chinese. He made a detour around China's daring step, back to the starting-point, and took up the agenda as originally formulated. There were proclaimed the four Root principles—why, mortal mind cannot fathom, after the Ten Points—and under those principles specific questions were taken up, beginning with the simpler, easier, non-controversial questions. The theory of this procedure was to lay a foundation of accomplishment, even in non-essentials, and on that foundation and with a gathering momentum of accord to take up the knottier, more important questions. It was a logical theory, but it made no accounting of psychological factors and left no defense against diplomatic maneuvering. In that procedure there was the danger of complacency in small achievement. There was the danger that when a few minor concessions had been made to China, and a deal of artificial applause stimulated over these benefactions, the delegates would be in a position to cry: "Well done; enough! Have we not already saved China?", call it a conference, and go home, leaving untouched the heart of the Far Eastern problem, all that which involved some measure of sacrifice by the Powers. Which is precisely what happened.

The trivial questions were discussed and disposed of. A few crumbs were dropped to China and a furore created in the press about the unshackling of China, a furore skillfully worked up by official press agents. America lost the initiative. As in the Twenty-one Demands, as in Siberia, as in Shantung, as in the publication of foreign contracts in China, the first move was always made by the other Powers. America was on the defensive. The compromising was always done by America and ran against America. America was always in a position of having to accept the proposals of others or to challenge. And in diplomacy challenge can be followed only by submission or fighting; and the others always knew that the American delegation could not go the length of threatening to fight. Siberia was an example of that. The Japanese spoke first, the British having given them the hint how to speak. America had to accept, with good grace.

The perfect illustration of the whole process was Shantung. The Shantung question was shelved off into separate negotiations. For a dozen sessions or more, unimportant details were discussed. On these, since they meant nothing to Japan, the Japanese made concessions, taking pains to gazette their concessions with fine flourishes of magnanimity. Only when the public mind had been impregnated with the conviction that the Japanese were making all the concessions was the really crucial question of the railway taken up. Then naturally it was China's turn to make concessions. And China had to, with the result that Japan keeps a foothold in Shantung which is always a jumping-off place for further encroachment in the province and from there through all of North China.

In sum: either the American delegation committed the unpardonable blunder of ignoring the warning of the Paris Peace Conference by going into this meeting without a clear-cut program, thereby forfeiting the tactical advantage of the initiative to those whose objects were opposed to America's, or it lacked the courage to make its demands openly and support them vigorously, or it was constrained to voluntary abdication by hidden forces. Whichever was true, it was guilty of a fundamental illogicality or, rather, lack of logic. It failed to think through in advance what it had called the Conference for.

Our Submerging Farmer

By E. E. MILLER

THOSE sanguine souls who think that all is well—not, perhaps, with “business” for the moment—but with our governmental policies and our economic system, should consider carefully these few census figures. Between 1910 and 1920 the number of farms in the United States increased from 6,361,502 to 6,448,366, a gain of 86,864, or 1.4 per cent. In this same ten years the number of farms operated by their owners *decreased* 23,627 or 0.6 per cent; the number operated by tenants increased 100,070, or 4.2 per cent; and the number operated by hired managers increased 10,421, or 17.9 per cent. The total acreage of the country's farms increased in the decade 8.7 per cent. The acreage operated by owners increased 6.3 per cent; that by tenants, 17.1 per cent; that by managers, 0.5 per cent.

These figures can mean but one thing: the farm lands of the United States are steadily passing from the ownership of the men who till them, the real farmers, into the hands of men who hold them as an investment or for speculation. The percentage of owner-managed farms in 1920, 60.9 per cent, is the smallest on record. The agricultural depression of the last year and a half will transfer thousands more farms from the owner-tended to the tenant-tended group. But while “hard times” accelerate this process they are not its primary cause. The movement is continuous, more rapid in bad times, but none the less constant in good times.

The tenant-farmer, like the poor, we have always had, and are likely to have with us. Tenancy may be one stage in the progress toward farm ownership. It is often better for the farmer with insufficient capital to operate a few years as a tenant rather than assume too heavy a load of indebtedness. He thus leaves more of his capital free for farming operations and is likely to get ahead faster than if he tied up his money in land. But—and this is the nub of the whole situation—it is increasingly difficult for the tenant to graduate into the farm-owning class. More years must be spent as a tenant than formerly; more tenants fail to make the change; more land-owners drop back into the tenant class; more farming lands pass into the hands of men who are not themselves farmers.

This is a serious state of affairs. “Happy is the land tilled by the man who owns it,” runs the old proverb. Happy, too, is the nation whose people own their own homes. Home-owning farmers take better care of their land, have better buildings and improvements, raise larger crops, grow finer live stock, have more money, give their children a better education than do tenant farmers. A rural district passing from owner-farming to tenant-farming is nearly always a district on the retrograde in many ways. In it fields get poorer, buildings run down, schools are neglected, the social and intellectual life is more stagnant.

Yet the change from farmer ownership to landlord ownership and tenant-farming generally goes on fastest in sections where land values are increasing most rapidly. It is because land values have risen more rapidly than the profits of farming that tenancy has increased. The ownership of farm lands has proved better business than producing crops and live stock. The man who must live by farming finds it harder all the time because the increased interest on the capital tied up in his land more than absorbs his increased

profits. The farmer of small capital, in short, is steadily being crowded out of farm ownership, and the land is passing to men with larger capital who can manage with a smaller immediate return from their investment and wait for a future increase in its value for their profit.

It has been seriously argued that increases in the value of farm lands can come only from increases in the profits of farming, and at first glance this seems a reasonable contention. It needs but a little observation in the farming districts, however, to show how fallacious is this idea. Before the war the farms of such prosperous states as Iowa and Illinois were netting, as a rule, only 3 or 4 per cent on their selling value—sufficient evidence that it was land ownership and not farming that was returning a profit. The growth of cities and towns, better roads, telephone lines, the automobile, were all adding much more to the desirability of the farm as a place to live, and so to its possible selling value, than the possible returns from tending it. Also, around every city and town in an agricultural section may be found tracts of farming land which if put into staple crops could not pay even 2 or 3 per cent on the prices asked for them. Their value is purely speculative, and is based on the future growth of the near-by city or town. No tenant could ever make enough money farming them to pay for them.

The remedy is to check the increase in land values by shifting taxes from the products of the farmer's labor—his crops, live stock, buildings, and other improvements on the land—to the site value of the land itself. This would at once make easier the acquisition of land by the non-owning farmer and make less profitable holding it purely as an investment. The speculator, knowing that increase in land values would be largely absorbed by increased taxes, could not afford to hold land out of use. The landless farmer could buy land, especially unimproved or partially improved land, for a fraction of what it now costs him and he would escape the burden of greatly increased taxes whenever he added to its value by his own labor.

This remedy, the only valid one, it seems to me, though many times proposed by a few individuals, has not yet caught the public fancy. Least of all has it appealed to the majority of farmers. Indeed, most citizens, on the farm or off, have scarcely given a thought to the increasing farm tenantry. They must come to it before long if agricultural production is to keep pace with the growth in population and if the home-owning farmer is not to become the exception rather than the rule.

It is a loss to the community when a man is compelled to spend his life struggling to pay for a little spot of ground on which to make a home and a living—a financial loss because under such conditions he cannot do his best work, cannot produce as he might, must put up with a lower standard of living. This loss to the state, great though it be in the aggregate, is as nothing to the loss such labor and such living entail on the man and his family. Thousands of American farmers have spent years and literally worn themselves out to own farms, only to find after the farms were paid for, that their earnings were largely absorbed by the inflated land values. And when the struggle is unsuccessful and after years of effort and privation the tenant remains a tenant still, with no chance of becoming anything more, with his wife worn out, and his children cheated of their rightful opportunities in life, it becomes a real tragedy. If the tendency continues unchecked, it will lead

to disastrous results, not only for the unfortunate victims, but for the whole country. For every increase in the number and proportion of tenant farmers means a larger and more hopeless submerged farming class. Justice and humanity join with good business sense to demand that the road to home ownership be made shorter and easier for the man who would till the soil, the world's truest producer.

The Cropper Speaks

By E. E. MILLER

"Next year we'll buy a farm," we said,
My wife and I when newly wed;
But next year came, and next, and next,
And always we were sore perplexed
To find enough to square the store
And get a start for one year more.

I reckon somehow I'm to blame
That we have gone on just the same
For fifteen years; but looking back
I can't see where my work's been slack,
And we've not wasted what I made.
I know I'm not much at a trade,
And once or twice I've lost like sin
By letting someone take me in.
And twice a farm I've tried to buy
But couldn't gather, low nor high,
The cash I had to have in hand
To get possession of the land.

So still we tend another's fields
And pay him from our scanty yields;
From hut to hovel move about
Till all our plunder's plumb worn out.

At moving time in years gone by
My wife would fret and fuss and cry
And say, "It's just no use to try
To keep things nice until we get
A home to stay at." "Right, you bet,"
I'd say. "Next year we'll have it, too;
I'm sick of this as well as you."
But now we just pull up and go.
She says no word, because, I know,
She's too down-hearted, tired, sad,
From giving up the hope she had.

It's hard for one to spend his life
Toilin' and moilin' in endless strife
With worms and weevils, grass and weeds,
For scarce enough to meet his needs.
It's hard to work for years and then
Be just a slave to other men—
No home your own, no place to stay
If some man says to move away.
It's hard to feel men think of you
As one of a shiftless, thriftless crew—
"He's just a cropper"—that means, "No good;
He could do better if he would."

That's hard, but harder still is this:

To think of what your children miss
And what your women-folks must bear
As you go drifting here and there.

What neighborhood has in its life
Place for a cropper's busy wife?
Who cares to have his kids about?
At school they're likely in and out;
They leave their friends when they must go;
They lose ambition as they grow.
They never set an orchard tree,
Or fix the yard up so 'twill be
A nicer place another year.
Next year they'll likely not be here.
So year by year they drift away
From folks with better show than they;
And year by year the wife grows old,
And less and less life comes to hold
For her of things that women crave.
She, too, is nothing but a slave—
A slave to crops and a busy man
Who must keep going when he can;
A slave to toil that has no end
And does not help her lot to mend.

I tell you it's no little thing
To take a woman's heart and wring
It dry of every hope she had
In days when she was young and glad.

It must be my fault that it's so!
I've tried and failed. But still I know
There's something wrong. I can't say what,
But what I've earned another's got.
A nigger cabin, a muddy yard—
That's my wife's portion. God! it's hard
To think of hopes that once she had
And keep myself from going mad.

In the Driftway

SOMETIMES social questions, such as provide copy for our more erudite publications, obtrude themselves upon the mind of the Drifter, encased though it is in several layers of Buddhist fatalism and Taoist calm. Birth control, for instance, interests the Drifter intensely. Its tentacles reach out into such varied fields, grasping the immigration question in one direction and the economic independence of women in another, and side-swiping the problem of poverty on the way. It even touches the great question of the numerical increase of the hobo. An anonymous friend of the Drifter has called his attention to this aspect of the question. He writes in part:

DEAR DRIFTER: Being like yourself a hobo I naturally am concerned with all things which make for the good or the ill of our careless existences. Hence I inclose a clipping, served fresh with breakfast this morning. I personally am opposed to mechanical quantity production of future knights of the road. Hobos with brains enough to appreciate and thoroughly enjoy being battered from pillar to post are a wonderful thing—they make life worth living. But of late years the Road has become invaded by the type of respectables who would live a free life with slave ideas. If receipt of this clipping pleases you, be

thankful. If it is old stuff and I have wasted your time, think yourself lucky to be alive and open another letter—maybe there will be a bomb in it.

* * * * *

THE Drifter's unknown friend mistakes his nature. He has only the faintest detonating acquaintance with bombs and no liking for them; clippings interest him more. The clipping in question tells of a man and wife named Sundsmo who in the eight years they have been married have had seven children, five of whom are living. The natural supposition is that so prolific and ambitious a pair would be awarded a medal by the Roosevelt Foundation or some other patriotic organization. The Drifter was amazed to find that on the contrary the wife has been removed with her children to an institution, and the clipping states that "officials acted in the belief that the children were being born too fast to enable them to be brought up as normal children should be," and that the home was unsanitary. The judge who made the order declares that Sundsmo and his wife are morons, but the same article quotes a letter from the husband which makes the Drifter hope that his own Binet records would be as satisfactory. Mr. Sundsmo says:

DEAR FRIEND: . . . Some eight years ago I became acquainted with and married a girl. Her name was Anna. Anna and I have lived peacefully together and about as happily and contented as a workingman could perhaps expect. She is a kind, loving woman, and though she may not be called an intelligent reader, gifted nor talented in any way, I always thought her very practical, full of common sense. . . . The trouble was this, that five children, two very small, was too much for her to keep them properly clothed and clean and to keep the house up to standard sanitary conditions at all times. Someone reported one of the boys dirty. I could not hire help, for it took every penny I made to pay for our groceries. I was working every day, sometimes even on Sunday.

Now the sheriffs came one peaceful Sunday morning, surrounded our house, put handcuffs on wife, took children with hardly any clothes on, for they had just got out of bed. When the judge read the court order to me, it stated that two doctors had come before him and said that her house had been found in unsanitary condition and that our oldest boy did not seem as bright as he should be, and therefore she might have more children which might not be normal. He said we, both Anna and I, belonged to a class of people called morons, who had children far too fast, who were a menace to society, and on the strength of this he parted us forever and filled our lives with sorrow.

I can't understand the justice of this. I hate to think that I am subnormal. Now the law point is, can we lawfully be parted thus? I have not a dollar with which to obtain legal advice, and would it do any good if I did? Am all alone in my home tonight. My heart is heavy. I have not slept for a week. I can always see my wife being brutally treated with handcuffs on. It all seems so horribly unjust.

* * * * *

NO sooner had the Drifter read this document and resumed his usual philosophic calm than he came upon the details of a similar situation in Denver. In this case the family was allowed to remain together on probation. The wife will try to improve her housekeeping, but she can hardly promise to limit her offspring—the State will not allow her to find out how to do so. Judge Lindsey makes the most intelligent remark that has appeared in the discussion: "There is small excuse for opposition to proper measures of birth control unless better opportunities are afforded for the children and for the mothers who suffer for them."

THE DRIFTER

Correspondence

Letters to the Editor should ordinarily not exceed 500 words, and shorter communications are more likely to be printed. In any case the Editor reserves the right to abridge communications.

Look on This Picture

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Will the writer of the silly editorial Why Amnesty Matters please turn to *The Nation*, July 19, 1894, The Week, for correction, reproof, and instruction in righteousness! "There will always be men like Debs, greedy of notoriety, and crazy to show their power; but this country will not stand any nonsense from such people in future."

There was a time when men of sense and character wrote for *The Nation*; but now its columns have become a great stamping-ground for cranks, crazy-coots, and drooling sentimentalists. The editors of *The Nation* are the victims of an obscure disease of the brain, Debsomania, which is worse than dipsomania!

Santa Barbara, California, January 30 CHARLES E. STOWE

Then on This

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: I feel deeply obligated to you for the service you are rendering mankind through your paper; for the information one gets there, scarcely to be found in any other place; for the way you champion the cause of justice, freedom, and common sense, the cause of the oppressed and unfortunate; for your daring to question the meaning of popular catchwords and the idols of the market-place in general; for your daring to be severely critical, especially of any kind of complacency, for as Goethe remarks, "The little we have done seems nothing when we look forward and see how much we have yet to do."

Oberlin, Ohio, January 12

JESSE F. MACK

Why the Bloc?

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In the issue of January 18 you discuss the bloc system and incidentally call timely attention to the fact that the financial and commercial interests of the East are today peculiarly well fortified in the political representation at Washington. Your illustration might easily have been carried much further. The naivete of the surprise at seeing a Western Senator in regular course advanced to the chairmanship of a Finance Committee shows with how much complacency the established order of things has been accepted.

It is surprising that there should be so much agitation about the appearance of a particular bloc. The wonder is that this demonstration has been so long postponed and that we should have remained so indifferent to its causes and so unmindful of its dangers. After all, it looks as though we had tried to kill an unwelcome movement by giving it a startling name. In the last analysis, a bloc is nothing more than the accentuation of a protest or conviction to the point of organization for its promotion. A political party is a bloc. True it affirms an interest in the protection of all the people. But it has been known to suffer restrictions in that respect. For that reason there is always at least one opposing party. In older countries it is customary to have many, each to urge primarily particular doctrines or grievances. Lloyd George is now doing most adroitly what Bismarck did most effectively years ago, and what we may be doing in the very near future. Coalition of differing groups is the policy. A labor union is a bloc based upon a grievance sufficiently sound to sustain existence. Nour-

ished by unreasonable resistance, it may develop into political organization as is threatened in Great Britain. It presents a question of complaint and capacity. Indeed many believe that varying interests would be most successfully protected by group representation, especially in the legislative branch.

I do not share this view because as soon as we abandon the fundamental principle of devotion to the general cause and substitute for it the motive of self-interest, we invite and introduce the rule of exchange of support, combination, and log-rolling. However that may be, we certainly need not look far for bloc suggestions. But for the peculiar labor conditions in both agriculture and industry of the South, a formidable coalition of the West and the South would have been possible long ago, and even so it is a mistake to overlook that possibility.

But such segregation into groups based on particular material interest, perhaps associated with geographical conditions, in my opinion by no means constitutes the greatest danger. We are face to face with the prospect of distinct race groupings. I will not go so far as to accept the language quite commonly used, and speak of a Balkanized United States. But it is undoubtedly true that our conduct during the war aroused serious race animosities in our midst; and it is a mistake to assume that this feeling is limited to those who were made the particular victims of intolerance and hate. The possibilities of this situation are keenly felt by all those who understand that under different conditions they might suffer a similar fate. I regard this trend as fraught with great peril, and have at all times sought to resist it; but so far I see no intelligent or sympathetic effort to meet the situation.

What the war propaganda had left unfinished has been completed by the Versailles treaty. Everywhere race consciousness has been emphasized. Regardless of geographical boundaries and of established institutions race has been substituted for nationality. We have complacently looked on, little realizing that with us the way to a solution lies in just the opposite direction. Without protest we have permitted these feelings to be reflected among our own people; and least prepared to cope with this condition are those who during the war held supremacy over the rest by resort to force, hate, and hypocrisy. They will be the first to raise their hands in horror at the appearance of such blocs; as they will be the last to see that denunciation provides no cure, and that the salvation of our country depends upon a people held together by mutual respect and toleration, organized for the highest order of cooperation.

St. Louis, January 25

CHARLES NAGEL

Curing Judicial Tyranny

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: One of the underlying causes of labor riots and their destructiveness is lack of confidence in judges who decide rights of labor. This arises partly from the fact that Congress has overlooked making judges punishable, as are army officers, for disobedience, falsehood, culpable negligence. When a judge, to favor some friend, utters, as his genuine opinion what he really does not believe—what is *not* his opinion but a mere sham—why is he not guilty of uttering a counterfeit much more injurious than the ordinary forgery for which a tattered culprit goes to prison for ten years?

In England, the House of Lords, like the Senate here, is the supreme tribunal, but the judicial powers of the Senate are almost unused. *The Nation* would do a never-to-be-forgotten service to the country if it would encourage civic organizations to consider some such resolution as this:

Resolved, That any Federal judge who is guilty of wilful disregard of law, falsehood, or culpable negligence can thereby inflict incalculable suffering on the poor and friendless, and should not be allowed by Congress to remain on the bench.

That Congress therefore be requested to enact legislation making a "high misdemeanor" and so impeachable, when committed

by a Federal judge, any falsehood, deceit, dishonesty, disobedience or wilful disregard of law, culpable negligence, or scandalous conduct of any kind calculated to cast discredit on the Federal judiciary.

That the United States Senate be asked to consider the propriety of so amending its rules as to impeachment trials that speedy justice against criminal judges may be had, as by delegating to standing "impeachment committees," small in numbers, the details of trials, leaving only the printed report thereof to be passed upon by the full Senate.

Detroit, Michigan, February 10

GEORGE F. ORMSBY

Confessions of a Taxi Bandit

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: Would you be interested in "The Confessions of a Taxi Bandit"? I am laid up now and would be unable to leave my bed for the next six weeks. In the meantime I need money to pay the doctor and to fulfil other obligations and hence thought of turning an "honest penny" by allowing your readers a glimpse into the bandit industry (for such it is) and incidentally into the causes that promoted its growth and attracted me to it. If you are interested, I expect you to stick to the following conditions:

1. You'll make no attempt to learn my identity. (There is nobody else among our editors that I would trust to carry out this condition.)

2. You'll allow me to write in pencil, on this paper, as I must do it propped up in bed. After I am well, I'll be too busy to waste time writing.

3. You'll advance me \$1,000 on receipt of the first instalment (I have material for a 150,000-word book) and the rest as well as royalties on the book I leave to your own sense of fairness.

I realize that the proposition I am making you is an unusual one; but so are most situations that are worth while. The reason I have selected *The Nation* is, first, for the personal integrity of its editor; secondly, because my "confessions" are not fiction but *absolute truth*, whose champion you have always been; third, because of your publication of Casement's Diary.

In the meantime, address me in care of my physician, who has promised to let me have any letters addressed to me by *The Nation*, but does not know that his model patient is a taxi bandit who is responsible for more hold-ups than any other metropolitan highwayman.

PELA-YAH

Care Dr. ———, 1173 ——— Avenue, Bronx
New York, January 31

Bankers and Farmers

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: As there are serious errors in your recent editorial concerning Banks and the Farmers, I ask you, for the sake of accuracy, to print the following. The figures in your editorial, as given by the Advisory Council of the Federal Reserve Board, are only partly true because the statement that loans to member banks in agricultural counties, between two given dates, increased 56.6 per cent does not apply to even one-half of the agricultural area. As a matter of fact the grain growers received very little benefit from the Federal Reserve Board during the dates specified in your editorial. Therefore the figures given by you are misleading.

Every agricultural college can corroborate my statement when I say that recently the United States Senate was about to pass an act for the purpose of appropriating \$50,000,000 to relieve the situation confronting farmers and stock raisers, but the moment the bankers perceived that this Government was willing to go to the rescue of agriculture to the extent of \$50,000,000, said banks, which had been *refusing* and *withholding* credit, came to the Government and said they were willing to help agriculture. Since that occurrence (which only helped the stock

raisers) the Federal Reserve banks have repeatedly discriminated against the American farmer.

Ever since Paul Warburg left the Federal Reserve Board this board has shown its partiality to big New York City banks by loaning, for purely speculative purposes, amounts as high as \$100,000,000 and over to a single bank, while during the same period of time the producing sections of this country called in vain on the Federal Reserve system for help. The shortsighted officials on the Federal Reserve Board furthermore increased the inexcusable injustice above outlined by not permitting bankers in agricultural sections to loan farmers money (to finance their crops) on such gilt-edged government securities as Liberty Bonds. If this is not an injustice to the farmers, what do you call it?

With 20,000,000 farmers *producing at a loss* you oppose the appointment of a farmer to the Federal Reserve Board on the principle of class representation. This is a strange attitude for you, as a liberal editor, to take, especially since in the same issue in which your editorial was published, on page 84, you frankly admit that "the courts are indirectly controlled by the business and employing classes." If you admit that our courts are thus "controlled," why not admit that the same class which controls our courts must necessarily also control, and does control, the Federal Reserve banks? Also, if the Federal Reserve system, under its present management, continues to exert despotic control over the land banks, what would the American farmers gain by taking your advice concerning cooperative banks with which to join the Federal Reserve system? As an editor you should know that bankers, with their colossal political influence, have for decades viciously opposed all efforts of the farmers in that direction. Did you never hear of the Bank of North Dakota?

Robesonia, Pennsylvania, January 24 E. A. H. ENDRES

Some Christians Left

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In contrast to the story of the Boycott of Pacifist Minister which appeared in your issue of December 21, permit me to report the resolution passed by the board of trustees of another church under similar circumstances.

The trustees of the Unitarian Church of Summit, N. J., in view of newspaper comment and various current rumors, and in justice both to their minister, Dr. Doan and themselves, wish to put on record their admiration for his sincerity, tolerance, courage, idealism, and loyalty to the best as he sees it. While by far the larger part of his congregation are not in agreement with his views regarding peace and war, they believe in a broad tolerance of opinion and in freedom of pulpit utterance. Nothing that Dr. Doan has said is capable of interpretation as treason or disloyalty to his country.

The trustees believe that there is more danger today in attempts to suppress honest opinion than there is in a frank and free expression of sincere pacifism. Let us not see the ghost of Benedict Arnold in every phrase which is not sufficiently warlike to satisfy our emotions. Let us rather respect an honest man whether he agrees with us or not. In short, while fighting one form of tyranny, let us beware lest we build up another.

Long Island City, N. Y., January 7

PARKER D. KING

The Marine Corps' Personnel

TO THE EDITOR OF THE NATION:

SIR: In my article on Haiti and Santo Domingo Today in *The Nation* of February 8, page 148, paragraph 5, a sentence reads: "The corps is not a large body, and its proportion of officers to men is larger than in the army or navy." The words "officers" and "men" were inadvertently reversed. The sentence should read: "and its proportion of men to officers is larger . . ." In other words, there are fewer officers proportionately in the marine corps than in the army and navy.

Washington, February 10

ERNEST H. GRUENING

Colophon

By BEN RAY REDMAN

With sparse, blond hair, and mild, unfocused gaze,
His footsteps dragging as if on a hill,
His pockets stuffed with ancient, tattered plays—
I see him as the perfect scholar still.

For twenty years he labored on his book,
Secretive, proud, exuding industry;
Jealous lest even friendly eyes should look
Upon the growing verbal tapestry.

The publication date with every year
Moved forward, keeping slightly in the van;
Meantime, we made him needed loans, in fear
Of broken health for this devoted man.

Time after time he would announce the end
Of his stern labor; launch his final loan;
Then stumble on new data that would send
Him into fields of research still unknown.

So to the last we shared his confidence.
We buried him last week amid regrets:
Of all his manuscripts but one made sense—
The faithful memorandum of his debts.

Books

"We Want Civilization"

Civilization in the United States. An Inquiry by Thirty Americans. Edited by Harold E. Stearns. Harcourt, Brace and Company. \$5.

The Law. By Zechariah Chafee, Jr.—*Scholarship and Criticism.* By J. E. Spingarn.—*Philosophy.* By Harold Chapman Brown.—*The Literary Life.* By Van Wyck Brooks.—*History.* By H. W. van Loon.

OF the thirty Americans who have thus inquired into the character of our civilization, who seem at times almost to be inquiring whether we have a civilization at all, it is natural that some should be inferior to the best. No critic has a right to ask that any editor find twenty-nine other writers as lusty as H. L. Mencken or as enlightened as John Macy or as generous as Robert Morss Lovett or as learned as J. E. Spingarn or as graceful as Van Wyck Brooks or as lucid as George Soule or as spirited as H. W. van Loon or as penetrating as Elsie Clews Parsons or Katharine Anthony; but one can be sorry that certain of the contributors should have been allowed to waddle or fumble or to clown it or prose it as they have done. Too many of the inquirers swing the ax which with Mr. Mencken does good execution for the reason that it is hard metal, but which with them merely amuses or irritates for the reason that it is, of necessity, wood or paper. Several are splenetic, a few are trivial, one or two are downright dull. The bibliographies, for instance, though presumably meant to help sympathetic readers who desire to look deeper into the matter, are in various instances sheer impertinence; while the essays themselves range from solid exposition to hollow whimsy. Cooperative works, however, are never very even or very systematic, and in "Civilization in the United States" it is more important to look for the general unity of purpose and conscience to which the book lays claim.

As a matter of fact, it does on the whole exhibit that unity.

Here are a score and a half of men and women who have joined hands in a radical examination of the Great American Myth. Their performance is a pungent document on the unrest which has been steadily growing in the country since the eighties of the last century and which now achieves the dignity of a concerted manifesto. What, the proponents of a new era ask, has become of the America which was so long equated with Utopia? Loud machines have torn up its loveliest fields and smutted its most charming villages. Standardization has destroyed some of its agreeable sectionalism. Imperialistic enterprises have seduced it—half unconscious—from its provincial integrity. The nation is fat with excess of food, drunk with new liquors too strong for its inexperienced head, swollen with the wind of easy victories. It roars up and down its spacious territory, bragging to all the rest of the world, and trampling down those of its own citizens who venture to dissent from its program. And yet it has, these thirty questioners contend, no program. Though it constantly looks over its shoulder at an idealized past, and congratulates itself that it has a past so fine, it moves toward its future as if it had really lost the path and were drifting with the headless violence of a mob. Sooner or later its progress must be challenged; this courageous thirty has dared the sanctuary, torn the veil hiding the idols of the land, and found several of them fallen or broken, with feet of clay.

It would be easy—and true—to say that there is another side to the argument; that these anatomists, being all of one school, were, at the very outset, all of one mind; and that they themselves repeatedly hint at hopes for which they do not take the time to give the reasons they possibly have. But as they are deliberately leaving unsaid what all will say, they must be estimated by what they do say or seem to think. What strikes one most in the entire volume is the demand that order be, somehow or other, brought out of the prevailing chaos. Mr. Chafee would have the law freed of its confusions and purged of its delays and quibbles; Mr. Spingarn would have scholarship throw its lumber of learning overboard and associate itself with true criticism in more unified, more creative undertakings; Mr. Brown argues for a marriage in philosophy of broad prudence with some profounder metaphysic; Mr. Brooks reiterates his insistent belief that men of letters can and must lead life; Mr. van Loon points out that history during the war became the harlot of propaganda and can be rehabilitated only by penitence and a return to the ways of simple truth; the others among the thirty proceed all in much the same fashion. As many conservatives would probably have railed against disorder too, but they would have railed against it on the side of tradition and would have commanded the nation back into the ranks of experience. The radicals trust to the intellect to pull us out of our slough. It is this guiding confidence of theirs which gives the book its interest and weight. With particular details one may quarrel: some of the "facts" are not facts and would not be significant if they were; some of the reasoning leaves one cold; some of the roads proposed to freedom and beauty leave one smiling. But with the central contention one may not quarrel: that in the long run we shall probably be saved, if we are to be saved at all, largely by the intellect, and that it must not sleep nor falter in its task of scrutiny.

CARL VAN DOREN

Politics. By H. L. Mencken.—*Journalism.* By John Macy.

WHEN H. L. Mencken writes on politics we are always in for amusement and usually for much mental stimulation. His contribution to the volume is, however, disappointing in that he confines himself chiefly to an onslaught upon one phase of our political failure without giving us a general survey of the field. It is true, of course, that the particular evil he puts his finger on, the limitation of representation in the House of Representatives and the Senate to residents of the respective districts and States, must bear a good deal of the blame for the absence in our political life of men of talent and brains; and yet

we cannot believe that if this Constitutional restriction were removed we should have the political millennium or find the halls of the Capitol thronged with men of light and learning.

It is true that in New York City, for instance, any man who has self-respect and is imbued with Democratic beliefs has been as effectually deprived of a Congressional career as if he lived in Samoa or Hawaii—that is, if he lives in a district dominated by the boss of Tammany Hall, and he is little better off if he lives in a safe Republican district. Mr. Mencken thinks that if anybody could contest any district men with ideas and beliefs would go to strange districts, carry the people off their feet, and so win the nomination. He thinks that this would not only strike a deadly blow at the local machines but that it would put an end to the situation we now have, in which the nomination always goes to the "snide and petty fellow, always on the best of terms with the local bosses." Though free competition from the outside would undoubtedly help a great deal, we cannot be so optimistic as to believe that this would make an appreciable difference. There would still be the question of local pride, the inevitable jealousy of the silk-stockinged stranger from the city, and the question of election costs to deal with—to suggest only a few things. Nor would the local machines let go their hold without hitting upon some offset, just as they have managed largely to get around the curative effects of the primary.

From this Mr. Mencken moves on to the question of prohibition and explains both how it was that legislature after legislature whose members were really anti-prohibition hypocritically voted for that in which they did not believe, in terror of the militant anti-Saloon League minority, and how President Wilson could put over the war issue upon men who did not want it. Would a change in the method of election to Congress or Senate have prevented this? We doubt it. The disease is far too deep-seated. Today all representative government is challenged and the Constitution needs amending in various other ways. Indeed, only a deep moral issue as compelling as that of slavery could really breathe a true breath of life into the enfeebled body of Congress—enfeebled by pernicious anemia. Even that would probably prove to be only a temporary resort to the pulmotor.

More searching and comprehensive and equally able is John Macy's study of the press entitled *Journalism*, but Mr. Macy, like almost all the critical commentators in this field, lapses into too sweeping generalities. "All newspapers," he writes, "are controlled by the advertising department." This has not been true of the *New York Evening Post* since 1881, nor is it true of the *Springfield Republican*, the *Baltimore Sun*, the *New York World* and *Globe*, and doubtless numerous others. Not even when Mr. Macy modifies his statement, by defining control as a pressure which can hinder an ideal inimical to the business system from entering the newspaper, is he wholly fair. He does not, however, exaggerate much when he declares that "journalism in America is no longer a profession through which a man can win to a place of real dignity among his neighbors." There are other passages which make the professional journalist want to take off his hat and give three cheers for Mr. Macy. Extreme in statement the article may be in places; on the whole it is the most compact and brilliant presentation of what is wrong with our journalism which we have yet seen. Alas, like the other Dunciads of the press, this one has almost nothing corrective to suggest. Mr. Macy can only conclude by saying: "So we leave the responsibility where, after all, it belongs. The American press is an accurate gauge of the American mind."

OSWALD GARRISON VILLARD

The Intellectual Life. By Harold E. Stearns.—*School and College Life.* By Clarence Britten.—*Sex.* By Elsie Clews Parsons.—*The Family.* By Katharine Anthony.

SAYS Elsie Clews Parsons in her article on Sex: "Facts which are not held together through theory call for labels. People who do not think in terms of relations are likely to be insistent upon names. . . . Fondness for captions and for the sort of classification that is so likely to paralyze perception of the finer

distinctions and to arrest thought, are natural enough in a child." These sentences, I think, offer a clue to the difficulties experienced by Harold Stearns in his chapter on *The Intellectual Life*. Mr. Stearns does not point his finger at any of his friends and shout "a good woman" or "a bad woman"; instead he points his finger at American culture and shouts "feminized." Then, strangely enough, after muddying his thought with an epithet, he proceeds to a reasonably persuasive examination of our contemporary civilization. He sketches the frontier struggle which made the pursuit of art impossible, almost contemptible; which made practical results the sole test of value. He describes the survival of pioneer habits of mind in the modern business man—his terror and inadequacy in the face of leisure, his contempt of speculation or the ornamental sides of life. He explains the economic developments that forced upon middle-class women leisure and an accompanying responsibility for the intellectual and artistic life of the country. And the result he calls "feminization."

Now such tags may mean any old thing. Contemporary observers and critics, many of them rather obsessed by this matter of feminine domination, have used the same term to cover a dozen different meanings. Mr. Hergesheimer, for example, an intelligent man, claims that the influence of women has made of our literature a conglomeration of propriety and mush, sentimental where it should be cynical, prudish where it should be frank and unashamed. But, on the other hand, Mr. Mencken, equally wise in his generation, attributes to women almost all the more subtle, realistic, perceptive forms of intelligence. This intelligence, he holds, "might be reasonably described as a special feminine character." The caveman, or the unadulterated male, is all "muscles and mush. Without a woman to rule him and think for him, he is a truly lamentable spectacle: a baby with whiskers, a rabbit with the frame of an aurochs, a feeble and preposterous caricature of God." I quote this partly because it is funny, but partly, too, because it bolsters up my case against tags—especially the tag used by Mr. Stearns. For feminization means to him "something else again." It means an unwillingness to speculate freely, disinterestedly; to seek truth without thought of consequence; to love what is lovely even if it is also useless. It means the subjection of thought to practical ends—"better milk for babies" he uses as a symbol and an example. It means—heavens and earth, where have we got to?—it means that women have applied to thought those same tests of rigid social applicability that their pioneer fathers applied to the thought of their day, that their husbands still apply in their own fields. And yet Mr. Stearns does not suggest that pioneer life was, or that the business world is, the victim of feminization.

The fact is, of course, as Clarence Britten shows in his vivid discussion of *School and College Life*, that our severe national training in practicality has made us a people—men and women alike—suspicious of intellectual activity that doesn't bear some tangible fruit, whether it be business success or clean milk for babies. It isn't "feminization," if the word means anything at all, that accounts for the attitude toward education so tersely sketched in this paragraph: "A few years, and our expectation has shifted to the main chance. . . . For the child, we now demand of his teachers solid and lasting preparation in the things whose monetary value our office or domestic pay roll keeps sharply before us—figures, penmanship, spelling, home economics. For us, the vicarious glory of his 'brightness.' But we want this brightness to count, to be in the direct avenue to his career; so we reinforce the environment that gently discourages him from the primrose paths of knowledge. Nothing 'practical' is too good for the boy at this moment—tool chests, bicycles, wireless, what not. Thank God, we can give him a better start than we had. As for arts and letters, well, we guess that what was good enough for his dad is good enough for him." The spirit indicated here is not limited to women or to feminized men; it is the spirit of a people bullied by its past. We have nothing in our solemn heritage of Puritan religion, democratic con-

cepts, and economic struggle to teach us the value of leisure or of those arts which are born of leisure and out of which increasing value comes.

And if we possess a negative contempt for free mental enterprise, we are possessed by a positive fear of it. Desiring the stability of our economic and social life—the foundations and testimonials of our success—we are keen enough to discern, if only dimly, the disintegrating effect of thought. What would become of our industrial system if men were encouraged to inquire into its success? What would happen to sex relations and marriage and the family and the position of women and education? Mr. Britten's Martian may marvel and query and even smile; he is a distinguished visitor and as such we are ready to allow him amazing liberties. But if he chooses to become one of us he must accept us as we are—or else be advised to "go back where he came from." For thought is disrespectful, devastating. If it were not put in jail it would revolutionize our industry, and maybe, through the hostility of the practical men, plunge it into chaos. If it were not thrown out of our colleges it would spoil many tired business men. If it were not kept out of the mails it would prick the hypocrisies that make sex the scared and dingy thing analyzed by Elsie Clews Parsons, and keep the family in the state of petrified solemnity described by Katharine Anthony. These institutions are bolstered up by labels, and thought is death to labels—even the sophisticated ones adopted by Mr. Stearns. Thought cannot be made popular in a nation like ours until fewer people are benefited by its suppression. As Mr. Stearns says, it will be "the rebellious and disaffected who accomplish the miracle, if it is ever accomplished. Because at bottom their revolt, unlike the aggressions of the standardizers, is founded not on hate of what they cannot understand, but on love of what they wish all to share." In spite of the faint moral touch of "feminization" in the last line—which would indicate that the best of us have a flair for "social applicability"—those words seem to sum the matter up pretty well. It will require a fairly thorough social upheaval to set thought free; revolution seldom makes for leisure or for tolerance, but it would at least have the effect of clearing the air of the murky cloud of sanctities that does its best to smother beauty and eagerness and intelligence today.

FREDA KIRCHWEY

Music. By Deems Taylor.—*Poetry.* By Conrad Aiken.—*Art.* By Walter Pach.—*The Theater.* By George Jean Nathan.

ACCORDING to these critical reports the fine arts, except the art of poetry, are in a parlous state among us today. Mr. Pach is, perhaps, a little grudging; Mr. Taylor is patently in the right when he says that "we squander millions every year upon an art we cannot produce"; Mr. Nathan is equally correct in his two vigorous assertions that the fine art of the theater depends exclusively upon the cosmopolitan audiences of New York and that there are literally not more than three native dramatists alive who are not thinking of "success" above honest work—or at least who think of honest work in any effective way.

Our poetry is clearly in far better case. Yet Mr. Aiken's fevered overstatements serve, in an instructive way, to ally poetry also to the more unhappy sister arts. "The moment," he says, "is one of quite remarkable energy, productiveness, range, color, and anarchy." He compares our lyrical movement to the Elizabethan as one of "energy, violence, extravagance." Color and productivity we have. But it is amusing to think of Mr. Lindsay, Campbellite and lecturer for the Anti-Saloon League, as an anarchy, or of the violences of Mr. Frost or Miss Teasdale, or of the extravagant passions that surge under Miss Lowell's dome of brilliant glass. Our "psycho-realists" and "colorists" have insight, technical freshness, moments of high and curious interest. To warn them against "mere outpouring and confession" is absurd. Passion is what they conspicuously lack—the singing flame, the wreaking of the soul upon expression. Our poetry, where it seeks to be

poetry most, and least to approach the decoration, the sketch, the narrative, is still timid and inhibited or cool and too resigned at heart.

Mr. Taylor has reflected most vigorously on the causes of the conditions he describes. "The test of genuine culture is whether or not it is an integral part of life rather than a vacation from it." But the National Federation of Music Clubs insisted that the libretto of its prize opera contain nothing immoral or suggestive. They wanted, from the start, not a "Tristan und Isolde," but a "Fra Diavolo"; not life, revelation, passion, sting, but something agreeable, tuneful, amusing, untroubling, and wholly external to all grave preoccupations. And so since, as Mr. Taylor excellently continues, "significant art is inevitably based on the artist's relation and reaction to life," the American composer is inhibited from the expression of his own moods and the catalogues of the music publishers are filled with Arab Songs and Persian Fantasies and Hindu Dances. But it is Mr. Pach who, so much less coherent and energetic than Mr. Taylor, suddenly sums up the whole matter in one sentence: "It is futile to think of having an art here if we deny ourselves the ideas and feelings of which art has been made."

At this fundamental point the liberal and the artist is apt to take a leap and make an assumption which, when tacitly made, confuses the issue between himself and those whom he desires to persuade. It is the assumption that art is felt to be, however obscurely, a necessary function of the life-process itself. Such was not the feeling of Saint Augustine; such is not the feeling of Mr. Anderson or Dr. Straton or Mr. Bryan. These living Americans, like the bishops of the medieval church, will admit art as a harmless amusement, like billiards or baseball, or as a homiletic confirmation of the "truths" by which they live. And these "truths" definitely exclude, as hostile to moral salvation, "the ideas and feelings of which art has been made." These Americans and their followers hold, with whatever variation of content, the pre-Renaissance view of the arts. The American liberal and insurgent is a belated follower of the men who restored to Europe not only learning and beauty but the kind of life and temper out of which learning and beauty can arise.

Neither Mr. Taylor nor his colleagues are fully aware of the actual condition in which we find ourselves. It is not a new one in the history of civilization. It is, indeed, a venerable one. It is productive of so much pain and protest merely because it survives today only in certain parts of the civilized world, primarily in the United States, and youth and hope and liberty and art in these places are in the grip of dumbness and confusion. It is useless to reply: Europe is full of Philistines. Of course it is. But they do not set the tone and note of the personal life or of the arts. They are themselves on the defensive and often mimic, without having experienced them, "the ideas and the feelings of which art has been made." They are not pontifical, immovable, secure. Clemenceau may not be a wiser statesman than Mr. Harding. He is certainly a less kindly one. But he has written stories and novels that are based upon ideas and feelings which, though inevitably necessary to art, would seem to Marion, O., merely illustrations of the life of sin.

He, then, who would aid the development of the arts in America need not specifically concern himself greatly with the arts themselves. It must be his object to trouble the waters of American life and thought. That is the sufficient reply to those who accuse the liberal critics of America of being propagandists, partisans, sociologists. They must be that or they are nothing—propagandists of moral tolerance, partisans of liberty and peace, analysts of the inhibitions and self-torments that resist experience as sin and beauty as a lure. For it is their function to liberate in American life and set into activity "the ideas and feelings of which art has been made." The problems of artistic form and execution will take care of themselves once they have a proper and congenial milieu.

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

Education. By Robert Morss Lovett.—*Economic Opinion.* By Walton H. Hamilton.—*Radicalism.* By George Soule.—*The Small Town.* By Louis Raymond Reid.—*Engineering.* By Otto S. Beyer, Jr.

SOMEWHERE in the five-hundred-odd pages of this compendium on American civilization I seem to recall disparaging references to Chautauqua as a deplorable influence on the national life. Yet our pervasive national culture is justified of its critics who, for the most part, have given us nothing in the world but a rebel's Chautauqua handbook. Old Bishop Vincent might be ignorant of them and William Jennings Bryan acknowledge them not, but here they are, employing in the name of revolt—polite revolt and not at all violent—the intellectual short cuts of your typical American in search of culture.

There is no obvious unity in the chapters assigned me. Mr. Reid argues that the American is essentially a small-town man. This assumption might have been made the basis for a study of radicalism, education, and the rest, but nothing of the sort has happened. Mr. Reid writes not wholly unsympathetically and in interesting journalese of the small town; he offers a few explanations of it in terms of Freudianism and economic determinism in a Chautauqua-like vein. And that's that.

Mr. Soule on Radicalism gives one more substantial diet. His article is both sound and informing. So is Mr. Hamilton on *Economic Opinion* and Mr. Beyer on *Engineering*. Mr. Beyer's emphasis is on the necessity of a broader conception of the function of the engineer, who is, or ought to be, concerned not only "with controlling the forces and utilizing the materials of nature" but with "the art of organizing and directing human activities in connection therewith." The implication of this wider definition will lead the engineer to face the fundamental issues of economic life. What those issues are and in what limited degree American engineers are aware of them is the burden of Mr. Beyer's tale.

Mr. Lovett puts in vigorous form the usual radical—or even liberal—indictment of education. He suggests two things as necessary to the reform of education: "One is democratic control, that is, management of institutions of teaching by the teachers." The other is "that it should surrender its hold upon the superstitious adoration of the public, by giving up its pretensions to individual or social salvation, by ceasing its flattery of nationalistic and capitalistic ambition, and by laying aside its pomps and ceremonies which conduce mainly to sycophancy and cant." One may agree substantially with both points and yet wish for their elaboration. Graham Wallas has pointed out real dangers which inhere in the control of education solely by teachers. Professionalism has its own pitfalls in every important social process. It will not be easy for a guild of teachers "to surrender its hold upon the superstitious adoration of the public." The guilds of lawyers and doctors and clergymen who control their professions encourage little enough hope along that line. One wishes even more earnestly that Mr. Lovett had dealt with the essential difficulty of making organized public education other than conservative. Is it not a short cut whereby each generation seeks to impart to the next its inheritance and its own experience? In that process how can a generation divorce itself from its prejudices? A capitalistic civilization will teach capitalism as the means of salvation and a communist will teach communism. Both will do it in the name of truth. This is the heart of the educator's problem. Perhaps the most that we can expect is a greater loyalty to objective fact, and capacity for attaining it, and a greater reverence for the social and individual value of freedom of opinion than now prevails.

One other point aroused my interest. Mr. Lovett developed at length an interesting analogy between American faith in education and medieval faith in the church. The other writers refer repeatedly to religion in American life; yet the group as a whole, Mr. Stearns tells us, wouldn't come to grips with this problem—"they weren't interested in the topic." The omission and the apology for it are a measure of the superficiality of the

work as a whole. Yet I repeat that my own authors say something worth while. Perhaps my trouble is that I agree with the old clergyman who said: "When I read a book on a controversial subject I like to say damn or hallelujah." I have no desire to say either.

NORMAN THOMAS

Advertising. By J. Thorne Smith.—*Business.* By Garett Garrett.—*Sport and Play.* By Ring W. Lardner.—*Humor.* By Frank M. Colby.

J. THORNE SMITH has apparently been asked to write of advertising because he does not believe too wholeheartedly in it. That is as it should be. A 100-per-cent believer would write not a critique but an ad; and what could be more superfluous than an ad on advertising? Instead, Mr. Smith says that "advertising is America's cruelest and most ruthless sport, religion, or profession, or whatever you choose to call it." Savage words; but Mr. Smith passes from them to a temperate statement for and against advertising. Against it he alleges its control and corruption of the press and its economic waste through the creation of an artificial demand for many useless or injurious products. These are well known and generally accepted criticisms. More engaging is his point that for the most part advertising "makes its appeal to all that is superficial and snobbish in us. . . . The comforts and happiness it holds out to the reader are forever contrasted with the misery and misfortune of another. Thus, if I ride in a certain make of motor, I have the satisfaction of knowing that every one who rides in a motor of another make is of a lower caste than myself and will certainly eat dust for the rest of his life. There is a real joy in this knowledge. Again, if I wear a certain advertised brand of underwear, I have the pleasure of knowing that my fellow-men not so fortunately clad are undoubtedly foolish swine who will eventually die of sunstroke, after a life devoted entirely to sweating. Here, too, is a joy of rare order." In favor of advertising Mr. Smith submits that it has kept many artists alive (although he is not sure that they should be), that it has greatly advanced the art of typography, that it has had an educational value in spreading the use of many excellent articles like soap and tooth-brushes, and that, through the medium of paid space in periodicals, deserving movements and appeals are able to reach the public. With these more kindly aspects it may be well to take leave of advertising—because, good or bad, there is no prospect that we will be able to free ourselves of it any time in the discernible future.

In his chapter on Business Mr. Garrett presents a fascinating epitome of the industrial history of the United States, although he does not make clear the last great change: the shift of power in the present century from industrial to financial hands; from manufacturers, merchants, and railroad men to the money-lending and credit-controlling groups that comprise our great bankers. Having sketched admirably the rise of American business, Mr. Garrett pauses at the brink of examining it. Yet this is the all-important job. For American civilization thus far is admittedly an industrial one, and on the estimate of our business we must stand or fall. Now, for the first time in our history, there is a wide-spread suspicion that although our tired business man is a reality, our efficient business man is a myth. There is an increasing belief that the success of American industry so far is largely the result of our unparalleled natural resources and our continual supply of cheap immigrant labor; that we have finally reached a point where extravagant standards and wasteful incompetence are making it difficult not only to compete abroad but even to supply such essentials of material life at home as transportation, fuel, and housing. In other words, there is a feeling that our industrial scheme no longer works. If this be true, it gives an entirely new impetus toward a changed economic system. For years past we have realized that business was unjust, but we have excused it because it was efficient. And now—Americans can tolerate injustice but they can't abide failure.

It is a question whether the group that contributes the other

essays in this volume invited Ring W. Lardner to write on Sport and Play as a joke on him or whether he accepted as a joke on them. Anyhow he is among those present, and he knocks into a cocked hat the popular belief that Americans are devoted to sport—that is, as participants. All the exercise that most of us get is of the eyes, on the baseball bleachers; and of the lungs, along the gridiron sidelines. Hero-worship "does most to keep the grandstands full and the playgrounds empty"; and rather than add four years to our life by exercise we bolt from business to the Polo Grounds, "where, in blissful asininity, we may feast our eyes on the swarthy Champion of Swat, shouting now and then in an excess of anile idolatry, 'Come on you Babe. Come on you Baby Doll.'"

Humor. One turns to this chapter with perhaps more zest than any other in the book, curious to learn what Mr. Colby thinks on the subject. And one reads the last line still curious, for after blurting out in his opening paragraph that "there is no such thing as an American gift of humorous expression," he retires (perhaps fearfully) behind a barricade of words which tell no more. Possibly if he is right—and do not the comic supplements bear out his assertion?—there is no more to tell. Anyhow Mr. Colby may well be appalled at the thought of writing on American humor, for it would mean broaching the whole subject of our national life. To attempt that in a couple of thousand words would perhaps supply the final proof of a lack of humor—at least so far as Mr. Colby is concerned.

ARTHUR WARNER

Science. By Robert H. Lowie.—*Racial Minorities.* By Geroid Tanquary Robinson.—*Nerves.* By Alfred B. Kuttner.—*Medicine.* Anonymous.

THE essay on Medicine is significantly the only one in the whole lot that is anonymous. Lawyer, journalist, and engineer feel no constraint in exposing their professions. Not so the doctor. Taboos of one sort or another, "professional etiquette," the inhibition of strong caste opinion oblige him to tread discreetly. Under protecting anonymity, however, the present author boldly phlebotomizes his fellows in a manner strongly Menckenesque.

The older medical practitioner is disappearing, says Dr. Anonymous. In his place is a "more sinister type" . . . pseudo-scientific, given to rigidly defined office hours, and painfully exact in the extortion of his emolument. Coincidentally there has appeared the medico-commercial alliance of various specialists known as "group medicine." Under this new dispensation the patient submits to the diagnosis of a half-dozen experts. Each may apply his own "nuciform sack" theory—the author confirms Bernard Shaw's estimate of one of the profession's weaknesses. In contemporary medicine it is the "focal infection" cult which enables the new group physician to subject his patient to X-ray, to have his teeth pulled by the dentist, his "tonsils excised by the otolaryngologist, who also takes a swipe in passing at the accessory sinuses, and if these mutilations fail to relieve him, his appendix is removed by the abdominal surgeon"; and if relief still fails to occur and his "patience is equal to the test and his purse is not by this time completely emptied, additional operations are advised."

All this means that American medicine is molded by the same influences as our every other activity. America is filling up. The economic pressure is steadily growing. What thirty years ago was a profession, a genial, kindly human relationship—and still continues so in the country districts—has hardened and sharpened under competition. It was in those days that "medical ethics" were adhered to. What is "fee-splitting" but the "rebating" of the commercial world? What is group medicine but a syndicate? Blame the doctors—no! Pity them. They are subject to the universal pressure. Those who through natural endowment or careful clubbiness emerge from the mass to independence can most easily be ethical. All, of course, should be. But today the habit of not being "in business for one's health" has become regrettably widespread in medicine;

and the doctor who is not in business for his health isn't there for your health either. That is why, as Dr. X indicates, our medicine has become less scientific, more efficient in the business sense. These are the beginnings which spell destruction to the professional ideal. It is not the only ideal that is perishing as the days of the frontier recede.

Mr. Alfred B. Kuttner on the other hand fears that "our pioneers have been too much romanticized." His article on Nerves describes some of our national foibles, delusions, inhibitions, which, he feels, are now emphasized because those out of harmony with their surroundings can no longer "move on." One may well ask whether many present-day problems are not essentially related to this condition. Were not the freedom, the generosity, and the individualism which we idealized due almost wholly to the boundless horizons, to the great open spaces of our earlier days? We are becoming an "old world." Mr. Kuttner, however, shrewdly observes: "It has rarely been understood that, especially in this country, state tolerance of religion was compensated for by individual and social intolerance in matters which quite transcend the religious sphere." He quotes George Santayana's comment on America: "Though it calls itself the land of freedom it is really the land of compulsions, and one of the greatest compulsions is that we must think and feel alike." Never has this compulsion been more militantly enforced than in recent years. Ten years ago to be a Socialist was to be an odd stick, a genial curiosity. Now it is disreputable, dangerous, and ground for social ostracism. In the South, which in some respects is a couple of centuries behind the North, non-conformism in religion or in social practice is similarly cause for excommunication. As the writer puts it: "We are indeed ultraconformists, and our fear of other-mindedness amounts almost to a phobia." Just why all this comes under the head of Nerves remains a mystery.

Dr. Robert H. Lowie, who writes on Science, is thoroughly grounded in his subject. He summarizes the relation of American to European science. He mentions a few of our great names. He touches on the difficulty of scientific research in this country, and the unavoidable conflict between the much-needed theoretical research and the practical world of America. The recent war accentuated the perversion of scientists to the mercenary ends of industrialism. In America today the scientist is little but the servant of capital. The true scientific spirit which aims to accumulate facts, to reveal nature's secrets regardless of whether they lead or what financial end they may serve, is rare. Dr. Lowie might well have developed the subject more fully. Most valuable among the suggestions in this wholly fragmentary exposition is that "what our average student should acquire above all is a stout faith in the virtues of *reasoned non-conformism*." This is not the need only of the American student but of every American.

Mr. Geroid Tanquary Robinson writes on racial minorities. It is the longest essay in the book and one of the dullest. He selects four racial minorities, Negroes, Jews, Chinese, Indians, and discusses the special conditions of their life in America. What might have been one of the most interesting commentaries on American mentality contains nothing new or vital. One difficulty is his attempt to combine in one essay four topics which are essentially diverse; and the common denominator of these problems, America's reaction to the unusual, the different, the exotic, he fails to develop.

ERNEST H. GRUENING

The City. By Lewis Mumford.—*The Alien.* By Frederic C. Howe.—*American Civilization from the Foreign Point of View: I. As an Englishman Sees It.* By Henry S. Stuart; II. *As an Irishman Sees It.* By Ernest Boyd; III. *As an Italian Sees It.* By Raffaello Piccoli.

I GREW up in childish fear of Mr. Paul Elmer More's big black dog that patrolled the road in front of his Shelburne hermitage. Later, I remember seeing volumes of Shelburne Essays on my father's and other respectable bookshelves. But I never read them, and I never heard people talk much about

them. Perhaps it is my fresh-water illiteracy and queer New York associations; but I have heard far more of the cathedral pronunciamientos of Mr. Harold Stearns's and Mr. Ernest Boyd's iconoclastic friends than of Mr. More's echoes of the post-Concordian Age. I can't be upset by Mr. More's supposed domination of American cultural life. Nor can I be serious about the peril of his alleged ally, Mr. Orison Swett Marden. Mr. Marden's books may sell well here, but I do not see them heaping the bookstores in this country as translations of them do in Germany, where I first met them.

So all this pother of protest moves me, an habitual protestant, to a soothing sense that much must be well with America after all. When these apostles denounce Paul Elmer More, the counsel for the defense in the elder literary reviews does not so much defend Mr. More as attack the new crusaders, which indicates that even in conservative circles the center of interest has shifted. The new crusade is winning. When Mr. Mumford gallingly criticizes American suburbia I inevitably think of the terrible suburbs of Paris. It would be hard enough to live in a suburb of New York or Chicago or Philadelphia, but how much harder to live in Sceaux or Plessy-Robinson! American architecture may be very bad, but even the American apartment house is easier to look at than the monstrosities of the Boulevard Raspail or of Berlin-Schöneberg; and the American "villa" or isolated house is a thing of rare beauty compared to its Continental equivalent. The haunting beauty of Paris is a relic of centuries long past, not a product of the present generations of Parisians. The house on the Quai St. Michel to which I look back fondly was built in 1557 and its view of Notre Dame is half-ruined by the prefecture built by tasteless modern Frenchmen. It is hard to believe that our nostalgic aesthetes who think they yearn for Paris do not really yearn chiefly to get away from their own apron-strings.

Mr. Stuart thinks that the present "dominant note in America is acquiescence in, and in England revolt against, the inordinate demands of commercialism"; and he predicts the advent to power in England of an anti-commercial proletariat which, he seems to think, may fight America in defense of some new "balance of power." I doubt his premises. The dominant note in America is acquiescence in commercialism, but the significant note is revolt against it. In England it is otherwise. England cannot afford long the luxury of such revolt. The pressure of economic forces in her overpopulated island is finally compelling her coal miners, for instance, to accept American efficiency. It is unfortunate, but true. She may have another era of protest later, but she will accept our horrible efficiency first.

Mr. Boyd treats Mr. More with severe seriousness, then in effect says he was not worth it. "It is rare now to find a young American who does not cry out against American civilization." If all the youth cry out against Mr. More's gods, is not the ultimate victory of self-determination in America already sure? And why compare the literary America of Bryan, van Dyke, and Wilson unfavorably with the France of Thiers and Guizot, when the French Academy of today elects Joffre, Foch, Pétain, and Deschanel as members? A Chautauquan Bryan is at least as brainy as a sleepy Joffre. Let's get over our inferiority complex (which is not unrelated to that common feeling of smug superiority which leads even Mr. Frederic Howe to talk about insuring the predominance of the Anglo-Saxon stock). Our faults are the faults of modern commercialism, and Europe is rapidly emulating us. The hope lies not in return to Europe but in this irritating protest of the young who stay. If they can convert their own generation to the right to self-expression, America has in her enough creative power without seeking adventitious aid at the tables at the Rotonde. Most foreigners feel this. Mr. Boyd, after all, writes not as an Irishman, but as a friend of Mr. Harold Stearns. Mr. Piccoli contributes a bit of real perspective, however, when he quotes a Chinese friend as defining an American university as "an athletic association in which certain opportunities for study were provided for the feeble-bodied."

LEWIS S. GANNETT

Russia Has Its Famine—So Has West Virginia

SHALL UNIONISM BE STARVED TO DEATH?

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West Virginia 70,000 Are Without Work;
35,000 Families Are Without Bread

**These Starving Miners Are Not On Strike; They Are Laid Off Because
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The miners have looked after their own needy until recently; but now their resources are gone.

On February 8 last 1,800 appeals for help were received at the district offices of the United Mine Workers in Charleston; that night Fred Mooney, Secretary-Treasurer, took a train to New York to organize relief.

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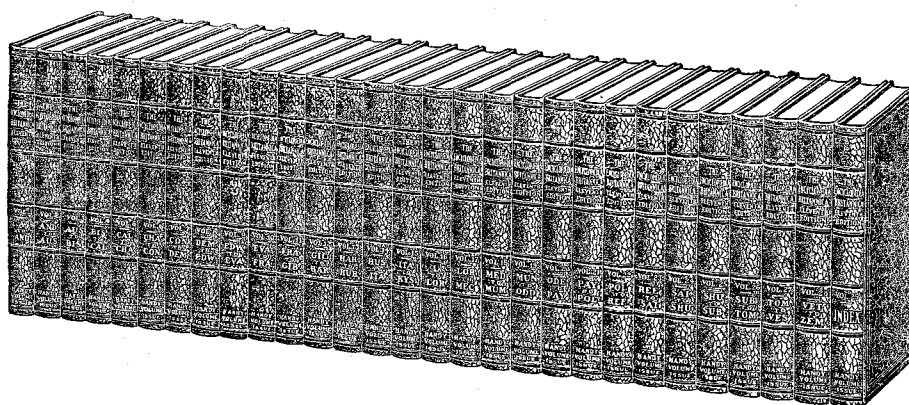
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Books in Brief

FABRE was called poet-scientist in France and Thoreau poet-naturalist in America, but they really had extraordinarily little in common, and the striking difference is rather characteristic of an old, traditionally Catholic country and a frontier Protestant land. Thoreau, "poet-naturalist," retired to a log cabin beside Walden Pond because human neighbors bored him, and there wrote about himself apropos of Walden. Fabre retired to a cottage at Serignan because his lectures at the College of Avignon bothered his superiors, and there wrote the ten volumes of "Souvenirs entomologiques" which establish him for posterity. Thoreau was primarily interested in himself, and never resigned to his fate; Fabre had amazingly little self-consciousness and he accepted whatever came as the will of God. His cousin, the Abbé Augustin Fabre, piously tells his life-story in the "Life of Jean-Henri Fabre" (Dodd, Mead). Much of Jean-Henri Fabre's life-story crept incidentally into the "Souvenirs," and the Abbé quotes liberally, contributing indeed little but moral reflections and a pious endeavor to prove that his more distinguished relative was a good Catholic despite appearances—which it must be admitted are rather against any such conclusion.

The homely story of the peasant boy's adventures while leading his ducks to water, of his grandfather's angry scorn when he came home tearing his trousers' pockets with the weight of quartz crystals, snails, and brilliant beetles; the description of the tiny, terraced cabbage-garden on a hilltop, are sheer delight to anyone who has ever sensed the charm of Central France. So too the tales of the young teacher's enthusiasm and courage in making oxygen alone when his superior had merely exploded a retort, or of his ascent of stony Mont Ventoux with fellow-botanists, or the pictures of the old scientist learning from his peasant neighbors at Serignan and quietly exploring the wonder-world of insect instinct until, all unaware of fame and almost starving in his loneliness, recognition came to him as the first entomologist of France. Fabre has an extraordinarily dramatic quality; the Night of the Great Peacock Moth is a thrilling tale. Nor is the good abbé-biographer's story without unconscious humor to the American-bred; he praises his hero's patience because, after letting the swallows nest in his bedroom, he had to rise at dawn each morning to open the window and let them out. It is a relief to read the story of a man so completely without the harassing introspection which marks us off from that medieval period to which Fabre in spirit belonged. St. Francis of Assisi would have hailed him as a brother and perhaps have studied butterflies with him.

L. S. G.



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Drama

The Moscow Bat Theater

THE artists of the Moscow Art Theater used to meet after the play, we are told, and give little performances in a tavern for their own amusement. From these meetings arose Nikita Balieff's Théâtre de la Chauve-Souris which Morris Gest has brought from Paris for a five weeks' season to the Forty-ninth Street Theater. Whatever its immediate origin, the Bat is a Variété des artistes, an Ueberbrettel, a vaudeville for intellectuals, the sort of thing that haunted the capitals of Europe in the early years of the present century. Paris started the movement, but fame clung curiously to the Cabaret Schall und Rauch—boldly translated Sound and Fury—which Ernst von Wolzogen founded in Berlin. Liliencron and Bierbaum and Wedekind and even Dehmel wrote chansons for it. But there, as in the Bat, a great deal was made of ancient popular song and poetry. It is all one: a blending of the sophisticated and the simple, of things up-to-the-minute with things immemorial, the result being something charming, a little bizarre, haunting yet evanescent.

Balieff superintends the proceedings—a round, fat man with an imperturbable Tartar face, astute eyes, an English pronunciation which, whether by the grace of art or nature, permits him to declare that "Back-on," a contemporary of a certain Shakespeare now "goot forgotten in Enklent," was the inventor of "back-on ent ex." Yet he seems neither impudent nor foolish. There is no need of any change of mood as you prepare to listen to his company "sink set sonks."

Their sad songs are the best they have to give. Not the songs of Glinka, that agreeable but not surprising composer. It is the gipsy songs that, you hope as you sit there, will go on forever thrilling with an always madder and more abandoned ecstasy and so give you a chance to break through all the politeness of musical form for once and sway with the pure cry of the unleashed heart. The "chastoushki," the ditties of the Russian working-people, use a less universal idiom and it is not quite clear why they are sung by broadly grotesque figures against a violently yet crudely expressionistic screen. The element of burlesque, indeed, serves to make the peasant scenes, too, a little less than intelligible. It is hard to follow a burlesque of the unfamiliar.

The polite numbers, songs, dances, scenes, are good but not remarkable. We ourselves do these things as well or better, even though the gavotte in "Under the Eye of the Ancestors" is exquisite and the semi-puppet burlesque of the Italian Opera cleverly conceived and executed with beautiful finish and discretion. We could have done the Dresden china episode; and the "Souvenir of the Far East" is not a great deal better than "refined numbers" from the Keith "circuit." What is unique and incomparable is the number called "The Parade of the Wooden Soldiers." For this one was prepared by the curtain with its sharp, violent Bakst colors delineating the crude wooden toys that the peasants make—a drum, a doll, thick little towers of blue and scarlet shaped like those of the Kremlin. In the "Parade of the Wooden Soldiers" these toys come to life. But they do not come to a human life or to an imitation of human life; they come to a life of their own like the dolls and soldiers in the dream-tales of Hoffman. It is a dream of childhood that these wooden soldiers bring you—a sensation, a memory beyond the reason or the adult imagination, straight from the best remembered of all lands. The words "fairy land" are a little Celtic, thinly magical, faintly eery. There must be a Russian synonym for "Märchenland." Thence came the wooden soldiers of Balieff.

We could do little or nothing to match Balieff's folk-music or his animated toys. But super-vaudeville? Yes, we could have that too. And we would not, perhaps, need to be ashamed of it even though both Balieff and Wolzogen were in the audience.

Who will give us our Ueberbrettel? To the ideal manager who will risk it I offer this suggestion for a first program free of charge, purely for the love of art. I. Miniature Ballet. Gavotte by Handel. Arranged by F. Ziegfeld, Jr. Designs by Urban.—II. Songs by Sidney Homer. The words by Sara Teasdale. Sung by Louise Homer.—III. Fannie Brice in Sayings and Ditties of a New York Gamine.—IV. Mr. Vachel Lindsay in Recitations from his Works.—V. Negro Spirituals. Sung by a Negro Chorus. Stylized set and costumes by R. E. Jones.—VI. Grotesque Dance by Leon Errol. Appropriate expressionistic screen by Geddes.—VII. One-act Play by Susan Glaspell or—yes, why not?—Bosworth Crocker. Set and Costumes by L. Simonson.—VIII. Recitations of a Play for Merry Andrews by Alfred Kreymborg.—IX. Elsie Janis in Imitations and Songs.—X. Dance by Anne Pennington or Marilyn Miller or Louise Groody. Preferably all three!

LUDWIG LEWISOHN

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International Relations Section

The Allied Consortium for Russia

PREVIOUS to the meeting of the Supreme Council at Cannes a group of economic and financial experts met first at Paris and then at Cannes to discuss the reconstruction of Europe, in particular means of drawing Russia into the West European economic system. Among the experts participating were, for France, M. Loucheur and M. Doumer; for Great Britain, Sir Worthington Evans and Sir Robert Horne; for Italy, M. Raineri and M. Salvago Raggi. On January 9 the Havas Agency (the French equivalent of our Associated Press) reported as follows:

The Allied Ministers completed this afternoon the Paris project for the formation of a consortium charged with the economic restoration of Europe. There were two suggested drafts. The British draft provided for the formation of a corporation with a capital of £20,000,000. This would have caused the nations whose money was depreciated to suffer by the exchange. M. Loucheur suggested the formation of a corporation with a capital of only £2,000,000, to which would be affiliated in each of the countries concerned national corporations whose capital would be subscribed in their own currency. This last suggestion was accepted. . . .

The text of the original proposal as given in *L'Europe Nouvelle* (Paris) for January 21, 1922, follows, together with a memorandum on the definite terms of organization of the corporation.

ALLIED MEMORANDUM ON ECONOMIC RECONSTRUCTION OF EUROPE

I

Europe is paralyzed. Her industries are disorganized; her foreign trade has seriously declined. A great part of her population suffers from unemployment, and even, in Eastern Europe, from starvation. The transportation systems of Central and Eastern Europe are in such anarchy that the flow of commerce has been dammed. The lack of confidence among the nations has hampered individual effort, and the fluctuating exchange rates tend to throw commerce back to the primitive system of barter as well as to restrict the labor market. Revival of international trade and exploitation of the resources of each country will increase the amount of productive labor and contribute a remedy for the existing misery.

International commerce will not resume its course until those who have commercial and industrial interests can again have the certainty that the economic principles necessary for the development and even for the life of private enterprise are observed in Central and Eastern Europe. The primary indispensable conditions for the active revival of international commerce with Central and Eastern Europe were defined in the resolution adopted by the Allied Powers at Cannes on January 6, 1922 [respect for property rights, recognition of debts, abstention from propaganda, etc.]. In order to restore Europe to her pre-war prosperity, it is indispensable that these conditions, without which trade and labor are reduced to the smallest proportions, should be reestablished. If any country refuses to subscribe to these conditions trade with it, except on a very limited scale, remains impossible, and Europe as a whole will suffer from it. The Central and East European markets are essential for the health of European industry. If these markets are not reestablished, Eastern and Southeastern Europe will count the losses in millions of human lives, reconstruction will become more and more difficult, and the conditions which breed misery and famine in the East will condemn the industrial population of Eastern Europe to unemployment for a long period, in which they will

compete for markets incapable of absorbing more than a small part of the goods which they would like to manufacture. If that happens the economic reconstruction of Europe will become still more difficult. Inflation will persist in many countries. The cost of living will not fall, the general discouragement will not lessen, and the classes which will suffer by it are the proletariat and the liberal professions. The evil has an even wider range of consequences; it extends beyond Europe, for the countries producing raw materials, India, China, Argentina, and Brazil, will, if they cannot sell their products because of the impoverishment of Europe, in turn be unable to buy the manufactured goods with which Europe has hitherto provided them. The attempt to restore each country by its own resources alone has not yet had any success. Only sincere cooperation between the nations of Europe and between all classes of society can overcome the difficulty and help each country to make the best use of its own forces and resources.

The following proposal is therefore made:

The British Empire, France, Italy, Belgium, and Japan, as well as the United States of America if it so desires, should take part in the task in accord with the other nations capable of giving effective aid. It is desirable that Germany should cooperate in this common task. In industry, trade, and finance Germany is an important factor in Central and Eastern Europe. Not only her resources and her geographical position give her importance; she has acquired knowledge and experience which would be useful in reconstruction. The difficulty is to reestablish the confidence and the credit-mechanism which are necessary to get Central and Eastern Europe back to work. The governments cannot do it by themselves because, apart from other reasons, credit operations require a knowledge of the possible lenders and only the manufacturers and financiers have such knowledge.

II

We propose the creation of an international corporation free from governmental control, on the basis outlined in the attached annex. The principal purpose of such an international corporation and of the national corporations to be affiliated with it would be, while safeguarding the rights previously acquired by the nationals of the participating Powers, to organize the transportation system and the administration of ports and of related enterprises in the countries which accept the conditions mentioned above and desire the help of the international corporation. Reorganization of the transportation system will bring back the era of unrestricted trade and will, more than anything else, prepare the way for a revival of private enterprise. But much more is needed. The old industries must be restored and new ways found for the employment of labor. The international corporation will also encourage private firms to engage in special enterprises.

The participation of Germany in the corporation will incidentally facilitate the payment of reparations. For that purpose one-half of the revenues due to the German national corporation would be paid to the Reparation Commission. The contracts for raw materials as well as for other objects shall in a general way be allotted to the different countries in proportion to their financial participation in the international corporation and in the national corporations. A first payment of £10,000 shall be made by the governments of the participating nations in order to cover the cost of the preliminary study and research which will have to be undertaken before action can be carried further.

ANNEX: THE CENTRAL INTERNATIONAL CORPORATION

1. *Name.* The corporation takes the name of Central International Corporation. It will be spoken of hereafter as "the corporation."

2. *Headquarters.* The headquarters of the corporation shall be London.

3. *Creation of the Corporation.* The corporation shall be created by a special act of the British Parliament, which shall fix the rights, obligations, functions, responsibilities, and spheres of action of the corporation. The provisions of English law concerning corporations shall be applied as far as possible to the corporation, and it shall be stipulated that the holders of the foreign shares shall be exempted from the income tax.

4. *Composition.* The corporation shall be composed of the representatives of the national corporations referred to below in the proportions mentioned in Annex A attached hereto. The representation of new national corporations which may, after the passage of the act referred to, be admitted into the corporation shall be fixed by the administrative council or board of directors of the corporation, hereafter called the "council."

5. *National Corporation.* Each nation participating in the creation of the corporation agrees to found on its territory a national corporation which shall contribute to the capital of the corporation and shall carry on work confided to it by the corporation. No national corporation shall undertake other work than that assigned to it by the corporation.

6. *Capital.* The capital with which the corporation shall start work shall not be below £20,000,000. The capital shall be furnished by the national corporations in pounds sterling, according to the proportion fixed in Annex A attached hereto, but with the understanding that the figures represent the minimum amount allotted to each respective national corporation. The national corporations mentioned in Annex A shall be constituted at the same time as the corporation; 25 per cent of the capital subscribed shall be paid immediately. The capital of each national corporation shall be reckoned in the currency of the respective country. The national corporations agree to call in and to put at the disposal of the corporation the balance of their subscriptions whenever the corporation may demand it and in the form which it may prescribe as determined in Annex A.

7. *Functions of the Corporation.* The principal functions of the corporation shall be: (a) To examine the opportunities for undertakings in connection with Europe's reconstruction; (b) to assist in financing such undertakings; (c) to obtain adequate security for payment in respect of work carried out; (d) to arrange for contracts; and (e) to promote or assist in promoting the subsidiary companies or corporations in various countries for special purposes.

8. *Administration.* The corporation shall be administered by a council composed of representatives of the national corporations. This council shall be composed of ten members and each national corporation shall have the right to claim a representation in approximate proportion with its financial share in the capital of the corporation. The decisions of the council shall, within the limits of its competence, be binding for the national corporations.

On January 10 the Supreme Council, which had four days previously announced the convocation of the Genoa Conference, issued the following official communique:

The Supreme Council approves the formation of an international corporation and of affiliated national corporations to undertake the economic reconstruction of Europe, and to assure the cooperation of all nations in the restoration of normal prosperity. A committee composed of two British, two French, one Italian, one Belgian, and one Japanese representative shall be formed immediately, and be invested with power to add to itself representatives of other countries, in order (1) to study the project in detail; (2) to make all necessary preliminary inquiries; (3) to proceed to organize the central corporation and the affiliated corporations in order that the work of these various organisms may begin as soon as possible; (4) to report to the Genoa Conference upon progress achieved, and (5) to make, either to any of the interested governments or to the Genoa Conference, any propositions which it may consider of a nature to assist the corporation or the Genoa Conference.

The governments represented on the Supreme Council agree immediately to provide £10,000 or the equivalent in equal parts for the organization committee, and to give all possible aid and assistance to the organization committee and to the corporation when it shall be formed.

German papers suggest that the proposal that one-half the revenues of the affiliated German corporation should go to the Reparation Commission indicates that the proposal is in essence an attempt to harness German industrial skill to exploit Russia for the benefit of the reparations account. They also assert the provision that contracts for raw materials, etc., shall be given in proportion to the capital contributed gives an unfair advantage to the industries of the countries where the exchange rate is high.

Three Years of Czecho-Slovakia

AT his New Year's reception in Prague, President Masaryk summed up the first three years of the Republic of Czecho-Slovakia. Discussing foreign relations, he said:

The policy pursued by this country throughout the year just ended in respect of external affairs has been neither more nor less than a continuation of the line of action and conduct adopted during the early stages of the Republic and followed with unswerving consistency ever since. Briefly and simply stated, that policy has been—while safeguarding the independence of the Republic and its freedom of action as a sovereign state—to preserve on the one hand old friendships such as those with the Allied and neutral Powers, and on the other hand to dissipate the animosities surviving from the war, to create an atmosphere of conciliation among the states of Central Europe and thus prepare the way for their friendly co-operation in the pressing work of reconstruction and in the maintenance of all-round peace. And the past twelve months, it can truly be said, have seen some decided steps forward made in this direction.

As early as 1920, on the initiative of this country, Czecho-Slovakia, Yugoslavia, and Rumania formed what is generally known as the Little Entente, with the aim of securing by united action the application of the peace treaties and of preserving the results of the revolution of 1918. This Little Entente, although an alliance of defense and not of aggression, was for a long time the object of suspicion in neighboring and other lands, but its advisability and its utility were amply demonstrated in October last when the peace of Central Europe was threatened by the sudden appearance of the ex-Emperor Charles on Hungarian soil. Energetic action by the Little Entente, in full accord with the Allies of the West, speedily reduced a possible renewal of bloodshed to a ridiculous farce, and definitely cleared the ground for a resumption of practical efforts toward reconstruction.

In November a treaty was concluded between this country and Poland under the terms of which all matters of dispute arising between the two states are to be settled by arbitration, thus excluding the possibility of an armed conflict. With Poland too a commercial treaty has been concluded and the important question of transport regulated.

With Austria the relations of this country have for some time steadily improved and a practical step toward amicable and effective collaboration was achieved last month when an agreement on the basis of the political *status quo* as laid down in the peace treaties of St. Germain and Trianon was signed, having for its object "the maintenance of peace in Europe and the settlement of the mutual political and economic relations between the two countries."

With Germany relations have continued to be of an entirely satisfactory nature, and it is only with Hungary that a certain lack of good understanding exists. The reasons for this

are, however, not to be sought here but in Hungary itself, and the Czecho-Slovak Government, which has taken the initiative in coming to terms with all our other neighbors, would hail with pleasure the opportunity of amicable cooperation with the Hungarian people.

After touching on the need of training for civil servants, the difficulties of parliamentary government, the need of general education and of land reform, President Masaryk turned to the subject of communism.

Long ago, in my critique of Marxism, I expressed myself as opposed to communism. Since then I have never ceased to occupy myself with this problem. I have had the opportunity of studying several communistic communities in America and elsewhere, and I have followed the communist efforts in Russia. Communism postulates and deduces from the principle of democracy—equality. But the economic equality which it demands is not communism. Ownership in common is something different from equality. Equality does not exist anywhere, either as a result of historical evolution or by nature. In reality there is inequality everywhere, in all nature just as in human society. But precisely on this account is it that man holds up equality as an ideal. Practically expressed, equality is that degree of inequality which is bearable. And social policy has for its first object the abolition of too great a degree of inequality in the social sphere. At the same time the democratic ideal of equality demands the suppression of all that is harmful, of distasteful luxury and enjoyments. The founders of democracies and republics have always consciously appealed to the Spartan-like example of the ancient Romans. And in modern socialism, too, there is a fair dose of Rousseauism. Inequality to a certain extent signifies individualism, without which successful management, successful effort in common is impossible. And individuals, as well as their capacities for work, differ not only quantitatively but also in respect of quality.

Attempts at communism usually were made only in small communities and for the most part on a religious basis and did not last long. It is quite sure, as the ties of family and friendship show us, that communism is only possible among persons who are, in morality and reason, on a high, indeed on the highest possible level. The first communist theorist, Plato, demanded the strictest moral discipline; the last great theorist, Marx, regarded communism likewise as the ultimate and highest stage of historical development. The Russian attempt has ended in such a horrible state of affairs because it was made with an uneducated and morally irresponsible people. Communism springs more from the principle of fraternity than from the principles of equality and liberty. Communism on a purely economic and materialistic basis is altogether impossible.

Communism on a large scale is also made impossible by international interdependence and the need for reciprocity. No country is today self-sufficing. There can be thus no communism which is not dependent upon non-communism.

Finally, it stands to reason that there can be very many different kinds of communist systems so far as fairly large or great states are concerned. The preachers of communism, content with phrases that obscure rather than illuminate, are thus condemned to political and social sterility and fiasco.

He concluded with a discussion of the problem of the Germans in Czecho-Slovakia:

Some people suggest that we should find a solution on the Swiss model. But Belgium is more fitting. For Belgium is a unified state, while Switzerland really consists of a number of small independent states. Our state, particularly Bohemia, has developed in history as a unified state and should continue as such. There can be no question of territorial autonomy. The inconvenient location of the minorities would not permit it.

Our German fellow-citizens have the right to participate in the administration and in the government; that is a natural right in a democracy. Such participation, however, is conditioned upon loyal and unequivocal recognition of the state.



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... Our state, like all other states, has and should have its language. Unity and administrative order require it. With good-will political maturity and experience will determine the cases where employment of the language of the state is not absolutely necessary. . . . I should, however, like to express one wish: to see some of the German leaders change their manners. They are still too impregnated with pan-German pride and consider us inferiors. They are mistaken. . . .

Making Public Opinion

A STORY throwing light on the methods by which French public opinion is molded regarding Russia is told in the monarchist *Novoye Vremya* (Belgrade, Serbia) and reprinted by the Berlin *Novy Mir* of January 10. In 1920, when General Wrangel was still in power in the Crimea, the Russian telegraph agency Russagen in Paris addressed a letter to his "Minister of Foreign Affairs of South Russia." Parts of that letter are here reproduced:

On June 20 of the current year Russagen organized a bureau in Paris to bring daily influence upon the French press.

Everybody knows how difficult it is to get information and statements through the French press, as it has become a tradition with the latter to print only what has been well paid for. Thus the *Temps* demanded from the Russian delegation 800,000 francs annually for printing its information. But Russagen with its limited resources is not only in no position to pay such fabulous sums; it cannot pay anything at all. Notwithstanding this you will see by the inclosed newspapers that the statements of Russagen are regularly printed by the most widely read publications: *Temps*, *Journal des Débats*, *Figaro*, *Gaulois*, *Information*, *Paris-Midi*, *Chicago Tribune*, *Petit Parisien*, *Echo de Paris*, *Journal*, *Eclair*, etc. Besides, editorials based on the information of Russagen are often written by Emile Buré and S. de Givet in the *Eclair*, by Soulaire in *Figaro*, by Pertinax in the *Echo de Paris*, etc. This success of Russagen, which you have acknowledged, is explained by the fact that the work of the agency is not of an amateur dilettante kind, but is constructed along the lines of professional journalism. The newspapers are furnished with information of interest to them and we get through statements important for the Russian cause. Friendly terms have been established with the editors and collaborators of the most prominent publications, which allow us, at any necessary moment, to suggest to them an article or get through a desirable statement.

This work could, of course, be considerably extended, as it is of vital importance in the interest of the great work of our national regeneration which you are doing, but for this purpose it is necessary to have financial resources to increase the number of our correspondents, to pay for their telegraph and other expenditures, etc., besides means of quick and regular communication with the South of Russia. At present, more than at any other time, it is necessary to work most energetically to influence public opinion in Western Europe in favor of an active struggle against the Bolsheviks. . . .

We hope that you will find it expedient to support with determination the work which we have begun. . . .

(Signed) P. RISS, PROF. P. GRONSKY

AL. PHILLIPOV, L. GABRILOVICH

The reason for the publication of this document by the *Novoye Vremya* is apparently the fact that Mr. Riss is at present one of the editors of Miliukov's *Poslednyaya Novosti*, which is waging a polemic against the *Novoye Vremya*.

The Official History of the Ukraine Pogroms
The Franco-German Separate Agreement
In early issues of the International Relations Section.

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